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MILTON'S
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BOOKS V AND VI

*WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, GLOSSARY
AND INDEX*

BY

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EDITED

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NOTE.

THE text of the books of *Paradise Lost* in this volume is that of the first edition (1667), with the slight corrections and additions of the second (1674)

Most of the Biblical references given in the *Notes* have been pointed out by previous editors. I make this general acknowledgment of my obligations here, as it would have been inconvenient to crowd the *Notes* with the names of the various editors who have detected the allusions.

The edition of Milton's prose works referred to is that published in 'Bohn's Standard Library.'

The *Life* is reprinted as it is desired that the volumes of this edition should be suitable for separate use.

In the *Notes* and *Appendix* I have specially endeavoured to illustrate an aspect of the poem to which less attention than one might have expected has been paid. I mean Milton's use of tradition, learned and popular, concerning the supernatural *dramatis personæ* whom he introduces.

The next volume will contain Books I and II; and the remaining books will, I hope, follow in due order.

A. W. V.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF MILTON

MILTON's life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to rerund the world that he was a great poet, if not a great controversialist, the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. *Paradise Lost* belongs to the last of these periods, but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three *The three periods in Milton's life*

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling, certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet. *Born 1608, the poet's father*

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a com-

poser¹ whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in the poems². Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated, and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School as a day scholar about the year 1620. He also had a tutor, Thomas *Early training* Young, a Scotchman, who subsequently became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. More important still, Milton grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home-life. This was a signal advantage. Most men do not realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University, for Milton, however, home life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. He was not a precocious genius, a 'boy poet,' like Chatterton or Shelley. Of his extant English poems³ only one, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, was written in his school-days. But his early training had done that which was all-important: it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

Milton entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, commencing *At Cambridge* residence in the Easter term of 1625. Seven years were spent at the University. He took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year

¹ See the article on him in Grove's *Dict. of Mus.*

² Milton was especially fond of the organ, see note on *Il Pens.* 161. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain instruction in, music.

³ His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv, cxvvi, scarcely come under this heading.

left Cambridge His experience of University life had not been wholly fortunate He was, and felt himself to be, out of sympathy with his surroundings, and whenever in after-years he spoke of Cambridge¹ it was with something of the grave *in pietas* of Gibbon who, unsoftened even by memories of Magdalen, complained that the fourteen months spent at Oxford were the least profitable part of his life Milton, in fact, anticipates the laments that we find in the correspondence of Gray, addressed sometimes to Richard West and reverberated from the banks of the Isis It may, however, be fairly assumed that, whether consciously or not, Milton owed a good deal to his University, and it must not be forgotten that the uncomplimentary and oft-quoted allusions to Cambridge date for the most part from the unhappy period when Milton the politician and polemical dogmatist had effectually divorced himself at once from Milton the scholar and Milton the poet A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn* (1629), were already written

¹ That Milton's feeling towards the authorities of his own college was not entirely unfriendly would appear from the following sentences written in 1642 He takes, he says, the opportunity to "acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, above many of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein I spent some years, who, at my parting after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay, as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me"—*Apology for Smectymnus*, P IV III 311 Perhaps it would have been better for Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a stronghold of Puritanism Dr John Preston, the Master of the college at that time, was a noted leader of the Puritan party, see his *Life* by Thomas Ball, printed in 1885 by Mr E W Harcourt from the MS at Nuneham Court

Milton's father had settled¹ at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in July, 1632. He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church². This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self discipline and application, for the far off divine event to which his whole life moved.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great³ that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose, it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics.

¹ As tenant of the Earl of Bridgewater, according to one account, but probably the tradition arose from Milton's subsequent connection with the Bridgewater family.

² Cf. Milton's own words, "The Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions." What kept him from taking orders was not, at first, any difference of belief, but solely his objection to Church discipline and government. "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave. (I) thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing"—*Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II 482. Milton disliked in particular the episcopal system, and spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

³ Cf. the second sonnet, "How soon hath Time." Ten years later (1641) Milton speaks of the "inward prompting which grows duly upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong pressure of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let it die." *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II 477, 478.

He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts, and the means whereby this end is to be attained are fourfold—devotion to learning, devotion to religion, ascetic purity of life, and the pursuit of *σπουδαίτης* or “excellent seriousness” of thought.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1638. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations: that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself, the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education, ranging the whole world of classical antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being, learning, too, all of art, especially music, that contemporary England could furnish, wresting from modern literatures (especially Italian) their last secrets, and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and scholarship¹. It says much for the poet that he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning².

¹ Milton's poems with their undercurrent of perpetual allusion are the best proof of the width of his reading, but interesting supplementary evidence is afforded by the commonplace book discovered in 1874, and printed by the *Camden Society*, 1876. It contains extracts from about 80 different authors whose works Milton had studied.

² Cf. the poem *Ad Patrem*, 68—72, in which Milton thanks his father for not having forced him to be a merchant or lawyer.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain, but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. We have spoken of them elsewhere. Here we may note that four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse, and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyric vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. He had long made himself a master of Italian, and it was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle, whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his

Milton's lyric verse its relation to content and to life

Travels in Italy close of the first period in his life

Cause of his return to England

position very clearly "I considered it," he says, "dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom" And again "Perceiving that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings, inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that, above all things, I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry"

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Dantoni*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati. *Lycidas* was the last of the English lyrics the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political *animus*. Other interests¹ filled his thoughts—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Established Church (*Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watch word of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews

¹ Milton seems to have cherished some hope of beginning a great poem as late as 1641—2, probably the latter year marked his final surrender of the scheme.

The second period, 1640—1660. Milton abandons poetry

Pamphlets on the Church and Education

This led to consideration of the best educational methods, and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married¹ The marriage proved unfortunate. Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on Divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Ariopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645² he edited the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I, *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared

¹ His wife (who was only seventeen) was Mary Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July 1643, and refused to return to Milton, why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P L* \ 909—946, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *S A* must have been inspired by the same cause.

² i e old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan 2, 1645—6, with the following title page

"*Poems of Mr John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at severall times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, and one of His Majesties private Musick.*

—Baccare frontem

Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro VIRG *Ecl* 7

Printed and publish'd according to Order London, Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard 1645"

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as

earlier in the same year Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin¹ Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state-papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state², gave him a practical insight *The advantage of the post* into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action, in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of *Its disadvantage* defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted, controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Eikon Basilike*. The book *Milton's writings on behalf of the Commonwealth* was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a

he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title page to mark its importance.

¹ A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lispng jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

² There is no proof that Milton ever had personal intercourse with Cromwell, and Mr Mark Pattison implies that he was altogether neglected by the foremost men of the time. Yet it seems unlikely that the Secretary of the Committee should not have been on friendly terms with some of its members, Vane, for example, and Whitelocke.

sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it. This he did with *Eikonoklastes*, introducing the wholly unworthy sneer at Sidney's *Arcadia* and the awkwardly expressed reference to Shakespeare¹. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, over the preparation of which he lost what little *His blindness* power of eyesight remained². Salmasius retorted, and died before his second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued. Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute, while the subsequent development of the

¹ See *L'A* 133—134, note. It would have been more to the point to remind his readers that the imprisoned king must have spent a good many hours over La Calprenède's *Cassandre*.

² Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood: "from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever left my lessons and went to bed before midnight. This was the first cause of my blindness." Continual reading and writing must have increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision. The choice lay between private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639: "In such a case I could not listen to the physician, nor if Æsculapius himself had spoken from his sanctuary, I could not but obey that inward monitor, I know not what, that spoke to me from heaven. I concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this, the greatest service to the common weal it was in my power to render" (*Second Defence*). By the Spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind. He was then in his forty fourth year. The allusion in *P. L.* III 21—26, leaves it doubtful from what disease he suffered, whether cataract or amaurosis. Throughout *P. L.* and *S. A.* there are frequent references to his affliction.

controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the market-place

"Not here, O Apollo,
Were haunts meet for thee."

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660 the ruin of Milton's political party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet¹

The Restoration releases Milton from politics. He turns to poetry

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—1660, and a word may be said here. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife: fierce controversy can benefit no man who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled. Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing. Another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas*—that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic. Mr Mark Pattison writes very much to this effect.

Should Milton have kept apart from political life?

One reply to this question

¹ We have not attempted to trace the growth of Milton's political and religious opinions. "Through all these stages," Mr Mark Pattison writes, "Milton passed in the space of twenty years—Church-Puritan, Presbyterian, Royalist, Independent, Commonwealth's man, Oliverian." To illustrate this statement would need many pages.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, could never have been written¹. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem, they could only be obtained through commerce with the world, they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books—we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so—and it is not so because at the age of thirty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country, like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon. Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers, a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man, he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things, *not² presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have within himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy*" Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and *affairs*"³.

Truth usually lies half way between extremes—perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by

¹ This is equally true of *S* *A*

² The italics are not Milton's.

³ *Reason of Church Government*, P. W. II 481

much impurity. No doubt, too, twenty years of contention must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places¹ where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes—

O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,
And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
To what it works in, like the dyer's hand

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare, the sympathy and sense of the *lacrime rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects many of the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity. He is stern, unbending, austere, and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for twenty years of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright; but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—1674, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator.

From the Restoration to Milton's death

Even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest, Milton did not forget the purpose which he had conceived in his boyhood. Of that purpose *Paradise Lost* was the attainment. We trace its history later on. At present it suffices to observe that the poem was begun about 1658, was finished in 1663, the year of Milton's third¹ marriage, revised from 1663 to 1665, and eventually issued in 1667. Before its publication Milton had commenced (in the autumn of 1665) its sequel *Paradise Regained*, which in turn was closely followed by *Samson Agonistes*. The completion of *Paradise Regained* may be assigned to the year 1666—that of *Samson Agonistes* to 1667. Some time was spent in their revision, and in January, 1671, they were published together, in a single volume.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets written in the interval. The last four years of his life were

¹ Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the Sonnet, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

² The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty three (if we exclude the piece on "The New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638—9. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge MS*) "To the Lady Margaret Lev." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems (xv xvi xvii xviii) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were first published by Edward Phillips together with his memoir of Milton, 1694. The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which the late Rector of Lincoln College edited a well known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (Garnett's *Life of Milton*, p. 175).

devoted to prose works of no particular interest to us¹ He continued to live in London His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden², who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise *Paradise Lost* It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation

Milton died in 1674, November 8th He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very *His death* singular purity and devotion to duty, who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius, who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*

¹ The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *S A* It was the discovery of the MS of this treatise in 1823 that gave Macaulay an opportunity of writing his famous essay on Milton

² The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation, but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674) Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Roman Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too"

PARADISE LOST

We have observed that the dominating idea of Milton's life was his resolve to write a great poem—great in theme, in style, in attainment. To this purpose was he dedicated as a boy just as Hannibal was dedicated, at the altar of patriotism, to the cause of his country's revenge, or Pitt to a life of political ambition. Milton's works—particularly his letters and prose pamphlets—enable us to trace the growth of the idea which was shaping his intellectual destinies, and as every poet is best interpreted by his own words, Milton shall speak for himself.

Two of the earliest indications of his cherished plan are the *Vacation Exercise* and the second *Sonnet*. The *Exercise* commences with an invocation (not without significance, as we shall see) to his "native language," to assist him in giving utterance to the teeming thoughts that knock at the portal of his lips, fain to find an issue thence. The bent of these thoughts is towards the loftiest themes. Might he choose for himself, he would select some "grave subject."

Early indications of Milton's resolve to compose a great work

"Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity

Then sing of secret things that came to pass
While beldam Nature in her cradle was"

But recognising soon that such matters are inappropriate to the occasion—a College festivity—he arrests the flight of his muse with a humorous *descende calo* and declines on a lower range of subject, more fitting to the social scene and the audience. This *Exercise* was composed in 1628, in Milton's twentieth year, or, according to his method of dating, *anno ætatis* XIX. It is important as revealing—firstly, the poet's consciousness of the divine impulse within, for which poetry is the natural outlet,

secondly, the elevation of theme with which that poetry must deal. A boy in years, he would like to handle the highest 'arguments,' challenging thereby comparison with the *sacri rates* of inspired verse, the elect few whose poetic appeal is to the whole world. A vision of Heaven itself must be unrolled before his steadfast eagle-gaze; he will win a knowledge of the causes of things such as even Vergil, his master, modestly disclaimed. Little wonder, therefore, that, filled with these ambitions, Milton did not shrink, only two years later (1629—30), from attempting to sound the deepest mysteries of Christianity—the Nativity and the Passion of Christ, howbeit, sensible of his immaturity, he left his poem on the latter subject unfinished.¹

The *Sonnet* to which reference has been made deserves quotation at length

"How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
 Stolen on his wing my three and twentieth year!
 My hasting days fly on with full career,
 But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth
 Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth
 That I to manhood am arrived so near,
 And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
 That some more timely happy spirits endueth
 Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
 It shall be still in strictest measure even
 To that same lot, however mean or high,
 Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven,
 All is, if I have grace to use it so,
 As ever in my great Task Master's eye."

¹ A passage in the sixth *Elegy* shows that the *Nativity Ode* (see Pitt Press ed. pp. xxiv, xxv) was begun on Christmas morning, 1629. The *Passion* may have been composed for the following Easter; it breaks off with the notice—"This subject the Author finding to be above the years he had when he wrote it, and nothing satisfied with what was begun, left it unfinished." Evidently Milton was minded to recur to both subjects, the list of schemes in the Trinity MS. has the entries "Christ born, Christ bound, Christ crucified."

savants—a stimulus which he records in an oft-cited passage¹

"In the private academies² of Italy, whither I was favoured to resort, perceiving that some trifles³ which I had in memory, composed at under twenty or thereabout, (for the manner is, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there,) met with acceptance above what was looked for, and other things⁴, which I had shifted in scarcity of books and conveniences to patch up among them, were received with written encomiums, which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side of the Alps, I began thus far to assent both to them and divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that by labour and intense study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die."

It was during this Italian journey (1638—39) that Milton first gave a hint of the particular direction in which this ambition was setting at least we are vouchsafed a glimpse of the possible subject-matter of the contemplated poem, and there is that on which may be built conjecture as to its style. He had enjoyed at Naples the hospitality of the then famous writer Giovanni Battista Manso, whose courteous reception the young English traveller, *ut ne ingratum se ostenderet*, acknowledged in

*First choice of
a subject the
Arthurian le-
gend date 1638
—1639*

¹ *Church Gov.*, P IV II 477, 478, a few lines have already been quoted in the *Life* of Milton

² He refers to literary societies or clubs, of which there were several at Florence, e.g. the Della Crusca, the Svogliati, etc.

³ i.e. Latin pieces, the *Elegies*, as well as some of the poems included in his *Sylva*, were written before he was twenty one

⁴ Among the Latin poems which date from his Italian journey are the lines *Ad Salsillum*, a few of the *Epigrams*, and *Mansus*. Perhaps, too, the "other things" comprehended those essays in Italian verse which he had the courage to read before a Florentine audience—and they the indulgence to praise

the piece of Latin hexameters afterwards printed in his *Sylvæ* under the title *Mansus*. In the course of the poem Milton definitely speaks of the remote legends of British history—more especially, the Arthurian legend—as the theme which he might some day treat “May I,” he says, “find such a friend¹ as Manso,”

*Siquando² indigenas revocabo in carmina regis,
Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem,
Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ
Magnanimos Heroas, et—O modo spiritus adsit—
Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte phalanges!*

This was in 1638. In the next year, after his return to England, he recurs to the project in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, his account being far more detailed

*Ipse³ ego Dardaniæ Rutupina per aquora puppes
Dicam, et Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogenæ,*

¹ i.e. a friend who would pay honour to him as Manso had paid honour to the poet Marini. Manso had helped in the erection of a monument to Marini at Naples, and Milton alludes to this at the beginning of the poem.

² “If ever I shall revive in verse our native kings, and Arthur levying war in the world below, or tell of the heroic company of the resistless Table Round, and—be the inspiration mine!—break the Saxon bands neath the might of British chivalry.”

³ “I will tell of the Trojan fleet sailing our southern seas, and the ancient realm of Imogen, Pandrasus’ daughter, and of Brennus, Arviragus, and Belinus old, and the Armoric settlers subject to British laws. Then will I sing of Iogerne, fatally pregnant with Arthur—how Uther feigned the features and assumed the armour of Gorlois, through Merlin’s craft. And you, my pastoral pipe, an life be lent me, shall hang on some sere pine, forgotten of me, or changed to native notes shall shrill forth British strains.” In the first lines he alludes to the legend of Brutus and the Trojans landing in England. *Rutupina* = Kentish. The story of Arthur’s birth at which he glances is referred to in the *Idylls of the King*. The general drift of the last verses is that he will give up Latin for English verse, *strides* is a future, from *strido* (cf. *Æneid* iv 689).

*Brennumque Arviragumque duces, priscumque Belinum,
 Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos,
 Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögernem,
 Mendaces vultus, assumptaque Gorlois arma,
 Merlini dolus O, mihi tum si vita supersit,
 Tu procul annosa pendebris, fistula, pinu,
 Multum oblita mihi, aut patris mutata Camænis
 Brittonicum strides*

Here, as before, he first glances at the stories which date from the very dawn of British myth and romance, and then passes to the most fascinating of the later cycles of national legend—the grey traditions that cluster round the hero of the *Idylls of the King*, the son of mythic Uther. And this passage, albeit the subject which it indicates was afterwards rejected by Milton, possesses a twofold value for those who would follow, step by step, the development of the idea which had as its final issue the composition of *Paradise Lost*. For, first, the concluding verses show that whatever the theme of the poem, whatever the style, the instrument of expression would be English—that “native language” whose help Milton had petitioned in the *Vacation Exercise*. An illustration of his feeling on this point is furnished by the treatise on *Church Government*. He says there that his work must make for “the honour and instruction” of his country. “I applied myself to that resolution which Ariosto followed to fix all the industry and all the art I could unite to the adorning of my native tongue to be an interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect. That what the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, might do for mine¹” Here is a clear announcement of

*The poem to
 be written in
 English.*

¹ *P W II* 478. Reference has been made so frequently to this pamphlet on *The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty*, (1641), that it may be well to explain that the introduction to the second book is entirely autobiographical. Milton shows why he embarked on such controversies, how much it cost him to do so, what

his ambition to take rank as a great national poet The note struck is patriotism He will produce that which shall set English on a level with the more favoured Italian, and give his countrymen cause to be proud of their

"dear dear land,
Dear for her reputation through the world¹"

To us indeed it may appear strange that Milton should have thought it worth while to emphasise what would now be considered a self-evident necessity what modern poet, with a serious conception of his office and duty, would dream of employing any other language than his own? But we must remember that in those days the empire of the classics was unquestioned scholarship was accorded a higher dignity than now the composition of long poems in Latin was still a custom honoured in the observance and whoso sought to appeal to the "laureate fraternity" of scholars and men of letters, independently of race and country, would naturally turn to the *lingua franca* of the learned. At any rate, the use of English—less known than either Italian or French—placed a poet at a great disadvantage, so far as concerned acceptance in foreign lands, and when Milton determined to rely on his

Milton abandons Latin verse *patriæ Camæna*, he foresaw that this would circumscribe his audience, and that he would have to rest content with the applause of his own countrymen, nor ever, as he phrases it, "be once named abroad" And there is some significance in the occasion when he made this declaration Up till the publication of the *Epitaphium* his friends had known him—to the public he was not even a name—as the composer of a number of pieces of elegiacs not unworthy, at times, of Ovid, and of some almost Vergilian hexameters

hopes he had of returning to poetry, what was his view of the poet's mission and of his own capacity to discharge that mission His prose-works contain nothing more valuable than these ten pages of self-criticism

¹ *Richard II* II. 1. 57, 58

Of his English poems only three¹ had been published—each anonymously. It might have been supposed that residence in Italy, the home of Latin scholarship, would incline him to continue to seek fame as a master of Latinity; yet, as if to dispel this impression, he announces straightway after his return that he intends to discard the rôle of mere scholar, and assume that of national poet.

His desire to be regarded as a national poet

Again, these lines in the *Epitaphium* give us some grounds of surmise as to the proposed form of his poem. The historic events—or traditions—epitomised in the passage were too far separated in point of time, and too devoid of internal coherence and connexion, to admit of dramatic treatment. Milton evidently contemplated a narrative poem, and for one who had drunk so deep of the classical spirit a narrative could scarce have meant aught else than an epic. Indeed thus much is implied by some sentences in the *Reason of Church Government*, which represent him as considering whether to attempt that “epic form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a model or whether those dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation²”

The poem to be an epic

But ‘dramatic’ introduces a fresh phase, and as the first period of the history of *Paradise Lost*, or rather of the idea which finally took shape in that poem, closes with the *Epitaphium* (1639), it may not be

Summary of impressions

¹ These were the lines on Shakespeare, unsigned and lost among the commendatory verses prefixed to the second Folio of Shakespeare, 1632, *Comus*, issued by his friend Henry Lawes in 1634, without any name on the title-page, and *Lycidas*, printed in a volume scarce likely to circulate outside Cambridge, and only signed with the initials ‘J M’. To these might be added a fourth piece in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, could we verify the tradition mentioned by Warton that it was originally published in a Cambridge collection of Elegiac verse, about 1631 (I have discussed this point in the *Introduction to Lycidas*, pp. xl—xli)

² *P W II* 478, 479

amiss to summarise the impressions deduced up to this point from the various passages which we have quoted from Milton. We have seen, then, Milton's early resolve, its ambitious scope, his self preparation, the encouragement he received in Italy and from friends at home, his announcement in 1638, repeated in 1639, that he has discovered a suitable subject in British fable—more especially, in the legend of the Coming and Passing of Arthur, his formal farewell to Latin verse, in favour of his native tongue, his desire to win recognition as a great national *vates*, and his selection of the epic style.

In respect of chronology we have reached the year 1639—1640. The second period extends from 1640 to 1642. I select these dates for this reason. We shall see that some verses of *Paradise Lost* were written about 1642. After 1642, up till 1658, we hear no more of the poem—proof that the idea has been temporarily abandoned under stress of politics. Therefore 1642 may be regarded as the ulterior limit of this second period. And it is not, I think, fanciful to consider that *Paradise Lost* entered on a fresh stage about 1640, because between that year and 1642 Milton's plans underwent a twofold change by which the character of the poem was entirely altered.

First, the subject for which he had shown so decided a bias is discarded. After 1639 no mention is made of King Arthur. We have no hint of the cause which led Milton to drop the subject, but I would venture to suggest that it lay in his increasing republicanism. He could not have treated the theme from an unfavourable standpoint. The hero of the poem must have been for him, as for the Milton of our own century, a type of all kingly grandeur and worth, and it would have gone sore against the grain with the future apologist for regicide to exercise his powers in creating a royal figure that would shed lustre on monarchy, and in a measure plead for the institution which Milton detested so heartily.¹ Only a Royalist could have retold the story, making it illustrate "the divine

Change of subject
Second stage
in the evolution
of the poem,
1640—1642.

Possible explanation of this

¹ See the notes on *P. L.* vii. 74, 36

right of kings," and embodying in the character of the blameless monarch the Cavalier conception of Charles I. Be this as it may (and the change, I am sure, did not spring from mere caprice), Milton thrust the subject on one side, and it finds no place in a list of one hundred possible subjects of his poem.

Secondly, from this period, 1640—1642, dates an alteration in the design of the contemplated work. Hitherto his tendency has been towards the epic form now (1640 or 1641) we find him preferring the dramatic. Shall he imitate Sophocles and Euripides? Shall he transplant to English soil the art of the "lofty grave tragedians" of Greece? The question is answered in a decided affirmative. Had Milton continued the poem of which the opening lines were written in 1642 we should have had—not an epic but—a drama, or possibly a trilogy of dramas, cast in a particular manner, as will be observed presently. This transference of his inclinations from the epic to the dramatic style appears to date from the year 1641. It is manifested in the Milton MSS at Trinity College. Of these MSS a word must be said.

Change of style the poem to be—not an epic but—a drama

When the present library of Trinity College, the erection of which was begun during the Mastership of Isaac Barrow, was completed, one of its earliest benefactors was a former member of Trinity, Sir Henry Newton Puckering. Among his gifts was a thin MS volume of fifty-four pages, which had served Milton as a commonplace book. How it came into the possession of Sir Henry Puckering is not known. He was contemporary with, though junior to, Milton, and may possibly have been one of the admirers who visited the poet in the closing years of his life, and discharged the office of amanuensis, or perhaps there was some family connection by means of which the MS passed into his hands. But if the history of the book be obscure, its value is not, for it contains—now in Milton's autograph, now in strange, unidentified handwritings—the original drafts of several of his early poems notably of *Arcades*, *Lycidas* and *Comus*, together with

The Milton MSS at Cambridge

many of the *Sonnets* The volume, be it observed, is not (as might be inferred from some descriptions thereof) a random collection of scattered papers bound together after Milton's death it exists (apart from its sumptuous modern investiture) exactly in the same form as that wherein Milton knew and used it two centuries and a half ago. And this point is important because the order of the pages, and, by consequence, of their contents, is an index to the order of the composition of the poems Milton, about the year 1631, had had the sheets of paper stitched together and then worked through the little volume, page on page, inserting his pieces as they were written They cover a long period, from 1631 to 1658 the earlier date being marked by the second *Sonnet*, the later by the last of the series—"Methought I saw" It is rather more than half way through the MS that we light on the entries which have so direct a bearing on the history of *Paradise Lost*

These are notes, written by Milton himself (probably in 1641), and occupying seven pages of the manuscript, on subjects which seemed to him suitable, in varying degrees of appropriateness, for his poem Some of the entries are very brief—concise jottings down, in two or three words, of any theme that struck him Others are more detailed the salient features of some episode in history are selected, and a sketch of the best method of treating them added. In a few instances these sketches are filled in with much minuteness and care the 'economy' or arrangement of the poem is marked out—the action traced from point to point. But, *Paradise Lost* apart, this has been done in only a few cases—a half dozen, at most As a rule, the source whence the material of the work might be drawn, is indicated The subjects themselves, numbering just one hundred, fall, in a rough classification, under two headings—Scriptural and British¹ and by 'British' are meant those which Milton drew from the chronicles of British history prior to the Norman Conquest The former

¹ It is to them, no doubt, that Milton refers in the *Church Government* when he says that he may perhaps find what he requires in "our own ancient stories," *P W* II 479

are the more numerous class sixty-two being derived from the Bible, of which the Old Testament claims fifty-four Their character will be best illustrated by quotation of a few typical examples

Abram in Egypt
Josuah in Gibeon *Josu* 10
Jonathian rescu'd *Sam* 1 14
Saul in Gilboa 1 *Sam* 28 34.
Gideon Idoloclastes *Jud* 6 7
Abimelech, the usurper *Jud* 9
*Samaria Liberata*¹ 2 *Reg* 7
Asa or Ethiopes, 2 *Chron* 14 with
the deposing his mother, and burning her Idol

These are some of the subjects drawn from the New Testament

Lazarus *John* 11
Christ risen
Christus patiens

The Scene in y^e garden beginning from y^e coming thither til Judas betraies and y^e officers lead him away—y^e rest by message and chorus His agony may receav noble expressions

Of British subjects there are thirty-three. The last page is assigned to "Scotch stories or rather brittish of the north parts" Among these *Macbeth* is conspicuous Practically they may be grouped with the thirty-three, and the combined list is remarkable—first, because it does not include the Arthurian legend, which had once exercised so powerful a fascination on Milton, secondly, because in its brevity, as compared with the list of Scriptural subjects, it suggests his preference for a sacred poem

Of the Scriptural subjects the story of the Creation and Fall assumes the most prominent place. Any friend of Milton glancing through these papers in 1641 could have conjectured, with tolerable certainty, where the poet's final choice would fall For no

*Prose sketches
of the scheme
of a poem on
the Fall of
Man*

¹ The title is an obvious allusion to Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*

less than four of the entries refer to *Paradise Lost*. Three of these stand at the head of the list of sacred themes. In all four his intention to treat the subject in dramatic form is patent.

The two first drafts The two first—mere enumerations of possible *dramatis personæ*—run thus¹, it will be seen that the longer list is simply an expansion of the other

the Persons

Michael
 Heavenly Love
 Chorus of Angels
 Lucifer
 Adam } *with the serpent*
 Eve }
 Conscience
 Death
 Labour }
 Sicknesse } *mutes*
 Discontent }
 Ignorance }
with others }
 Faith
 Hope
 Charity

the Persons

Moses²
 Justice³, Mercie, Wisdome
 Heavenly Love
 Hesperus the Evening Starre
 Chorus of Angels
 Lucifer
 Adam
 Eve
 Conscience⁴
 Labour }
 Sicknesse } *mutes*
 Discontent }
 Ignorance }
 Feare }
 Death }
 Faith
 Hope
 Charity

¹ As they are in the original, without any modernisation. Neither is introduced with any title.

² Milton wrote, "Moses or Michael," and afterwards deleted *or Michael*.

³ The epithet *divine*, qualifying *Justice*, was inserted and then crossed out again.

⁴ After *Conscience* Milton added *Death*, as in the first list, then deleted it, and placed *Death* among the 'mutes' (*mute personæ*, characters who appeared without speaking).

These lists are crossed out, and underneath stands a much fuller sketch, in which the action of the tragedy is shown, and the division into acts observed. Here, *The third draft* too, we first meet with the title *Paradise Lost*. The scheme is as follows

*Paradise Lost**The Persons*

Moses προλογίζει, recounting how he assum'd his true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his¹ with God in the mount, declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity of y^e place, that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds preserve it from corruption, whence exhorts to the sight of God, tells they² cannot see Adam in the state of innocence by reason of thure sin³

Justice }
 Mercie } *debating what should become of man if he fall*
 Wisdome }

Chorus of Angels sing a hymne of y^e Creation

Act 2

Heavenly Love

Evening starre

Chorus sing the marriage song and describe Paradise

Act 3

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine

Chorus seares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall

Act 4.

Adam }
 Eve } *fallen*

Conscience cites them to Gods examination

Chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

¹ We must supply some word, e g *being*

² *They*, i e the imaginary audience to whom the prologue is addressed Cf the commencement of *Comus*

³ After this the first act begins

Act 5

*Adam and Eve driven out of Paradise
presented by an angel with*

Labour
Griefe
Hatred
Envie
Warre
Famine
Pestilence
Sicknesse
Discontent
Ignorance
Feare
Death enterd
into y^e world

*rites to whome he gives thine names
likewise Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc*

Faith
Hope
Charity

comfort him and instruct him

Chorus briefly concludes

This draft of the tragedy, which occurs on page 35 of the MS, is not deleted, but Milton was still dissatisfied, and later on, page 40, we come to a fourth, and concluding, scheme—which reads thus

Adam unparadis'd¹

The angel Gabriel, either descending or entering², shewing since this globe was created, his frequency as much on earth, as in heaven, describes Paradise Next the chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise after Lucifers rebellion by command from God, and withall expressing

¹ Underneath was written, and crossed out, an alternative title—*Adams Banishment*

² Cf the second stage direction in *Comus*—"The Attendant Spirit descends or enters"

his¹ desire to see, and know more concerning this excellent new creature man. The angel Gabriel, as by his name signifying a prince of power, tracing² Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of 3^d chorus, and desired by them relates what he knew of man—as the creation of Eve with true love and marriage. After this Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bewails himself, seeks revenge on man, the chorus prepare resistance at his first approach, at last after discourse of enmity on either side he departs, whereat the chorus sings of the battell, and victorie in heavn against him and his accomplices, as before after the first act³ was sung a hymn of the creation. Heer⁴ again may appear Lucifer relating, and insulting in what he had done to the destruction of man. Man next and Eve having by this time bin seduct by the serpent appears confusedly cover'd with leaves, conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, and is inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall, heer⁴ the chorus bewailes Adams fall. Adam then and Eve returne and accuse one another, but especially Adam. layes the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offence. Justice appeares, reasons with him, convinces him. The⁴ chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifers example of impenitencie. The angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise, but before causes to passe before his eyes in shapen a mass of all the evils of this life and world, he is humbled, relents, despaires. At last appeares Mercy, comforts him, promises the Messiah, then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity, instructs him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty. The chorus briefly concludes. Compare this with the former draught (i.e. draft)

¹ his, i.e. the chorus's, he makes the chorus now a singular, now a plural, noun. The irregularity of the style of the whole entry, with its lack of punctuation, shows that it is merely a jotting, such as anyone might commit to a private memorandum book.

² Passing through, cf. *Comus* 423

³ i.e. in the third draft

⁴ Each of these sentences was an after thought, added below or in the margin

With regard to the subject, therefore, thus much is clear as early as 1641—2 Milton has manifested an unmistakable preference for the story of the lost Paradise, and the evidence of the Trinity MSS coincides with the testimony of Aubrey and Phillips, who say that the poet did, about 1642, commence the composition of a drama on this theme—of which drama the opening verses of *Paradise Lost*, book IV (Satan's address to the sun), formed the exordium. It is, I think, by no means improbable that some other portions of the epic are really fragments of this unfinished work. Milton may have written two or three hundred lines, have kept them in his desk, and then, years afterwards, when the project was resumed, have made use of them where opportunity offered. Had the poem, however, been completed in accordance with his original conception we should have had a tragedy, not an epic.

Of this there is abundant proof. The third and fourth sketches, as has been observed, are dramatic. On the first page of these entries, besides those lists of *dramatis personæ* which we have treated as the first and second sketches, stand the words "*other Tragedies*," followed by the enumeration of several feasible subjects. The list of British subjects is prefaced with the heading—"British Trag" (i.e. tragedies). Wherever Milton has outlined the treatment of any of the Scriptural themes a tragedy is clearly indicated. Twice, indeed, another form is mentioned—the pastoral, and probably a dramatic pastoral was intended.¹ These, however, are exceptions, serving to emphasise his leaning towards tragedy.

But what sort of tragedy? I think we may fairly conclude that, if carried out on the lines laid down in the fourth sketch, *Adam unparadised* would have borne a very marked resem-

¹ These are the two entries in the MS referred to *Theristria*, a Pastoral out of Ruth, and—the sheepshearers in Carmel, a Pastoral 1 Sam 25. There is but one glance at the epical style, in the list of "British Tragedies," after mentioning an episode in the life of King Alfred appropriate to dramatic handling, he adds—"A Hero call Poem may be founded somewhere in Alfreds reign."

blance to *Samson Agonistes* it would have conformed, in the main, to the same type—that, namely, of the ancient Greek drama. With the romantic stage of the Elizabethans Milton appears to have felt little sympathy¹ else he would scarce have written certain verses in *Il Penseroso*². Nor do I believe that his youthful enthusiasm for Shakespeare endured long³ certainly, within a few years of the period of which we are speaking he penned the unfortunate passage in *Epitaph on Shakespeare* which only just escapes being a sneer at Shakespeare, while the condemnation of one important aspect of Shakespearian tragedy in the preface to *Samson Agonistes* is too plain to be misinterpreted. So had Milton been minded to dramatise the story of Macbeth—we have marked its presence in the list of Scottish subjects—his *Macbeth* would have differed *toto cælo* from Shakespeare's. In the same way, his tragedy of *Paradise Lost* would have been wholly un-Shakespearian, wholly un-Elizabethan. Nor would it have had any affinity to the drama of Milton's contemporaries⁴, those belated Elizabethans bungling with exhausted materials and forms that had lost all vitality. Tragedy for Milton could mean but one thing—the tragic stage of the Greeks, the “dramatic constitutions” of Sophocles and Euripides and when we examine these sketches of *Paradise Lost* we find in them the familiar features of Athenian drama—certain signs eloquent of the source on which the poet has drawn.

Let us, for example, glance at the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*. Milton has kept the “unities” of place and time. The scene does not change, it is set in some part of Eden, and everything represented before the eyes of the audience occurs at the same spot. But whoso regards the unity of place must suffer a portion of the action to happen off the stage—not enacted in the presence of the audi-

*In the style of
the Greek
drama*

*This is shown
by the Trinity
MSS*

¹ On this point see *Appendix to S A*, pp. 162, 163.

² Il. 101, 102, see note on them.

³ See note on *L'A* 133, 134 (Pitt Press ed.).

⁴ In the treatise *On Education*, 1644, he speaks of “our common rhymers and play writers” as “despicable creatures,” *P H* III. 474.

ence (as in a modern play where the scene changes), but reported. In *Samson Agonistes* Milton employs the traditional device of the Greek tragedians—he relates the catastrophe by the mouth of a messenger. So here the temptation by the serpent is not represented on the scene. it is described—partly by Lucifer, “relating, and insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man,” partly by an angel who informs the Chorus of the manner of the fall. Again, the unity of time is observed. The time over which the action of a tragedy might extend, according to the usual practice of the Greek dramatists, was twenty-four hours. In *Samson Agonistes* the action begins at sunrise and ends at noon, thus occupying seven or eight hours. In *Adam unparadis’d* the action would certainly not exceed the customary twenty-four hours. Again a Chorus is introduced (sure sign of classical influence), and not only introduced, but handled exactly as Milton, following his Greek models, has handled it in *Samson Agonistes*—that is to say, closely identified with the action of the tragedy, even as Aristotle recommends that it should be¹. Further, in the fourth scheme the division into acts is carefully avoided—an advance this on the third scheme. Similarly, in *Samson Agonistes* Milton avoids splitting up the play into scenes and acts, calling attention to the fact in his preface. Proofs² of Milton’s classical bias might be multiplied from these Milton MSS, and personally I have no doubt that when he began the tragedy of which Aubrey and Phillips speak, he meant to revive in English the methods and style of his favourite

¹ See *Introduction to S. A.*, pp. xxxiv—xxxvi.

² Thus, apart from *P. L.*, the Scriptural themes whereof the fullest sketches are given, are three tragedies severally entitled *Isaac redeem’d*, *Baptistes* (i.e. on the subject of John the Baptist and Herod), and *Sodom burning*. In each the two unities (time and place) are kept, and a Chorus used. In *Isaac redeem’d* the incident of the sacrifice is reported, and the description of the character of the hero Abraham as Milton meant to depict him is simply a paraphrase on Aristotle’s definition of the ideal tragic hero. Most of the other subjects have a sub-title such as the Greek tragedians employed. To a classical scholar the bearing of such evidence is patent.

Greek poets But the scheme soon had to be abandoned, and not till a quarter of a century later was it executed, with only a change of subject, in *Samson Agonistes*¹

The third period in the genesis of *Paradise Lost* dates from 1658 In that year, according to Aubrey, Milton "*Paradise Lost* began the poem as we know it. By then he had gone back to the epic style. He was still Secretary, but his duties were very light, and allowed him to devote himself to poetry At the Restoration he was in danger, for some time, of his life, and was imprisoned for a few months But in spite of this interruption, and of his blindness², the epic was finished about 1663 The history of each of his longer poems shows that he was exceedingly careful in revising his works—loth to let them go forth to the world till all that was possible had been done to achieve perfection It is Aubrey's statement that *Paradise Lost* was completed in 1663, while Milton's friend Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, describes in a famous passage of his *Autobiograph*, how in 1665 the poet placed a manuscript in his hands—"bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*" Ellwood's account may be reconciled with Aubrey's on the reasonable supposition that the interval between 1663 and 1665 was spent in revision Still, some delay in publishing the poem ensued On the outbreak of the Plague in 1665 Milton had left London, retiring to Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had rented a cottage for him He returned in the next year, 1666,

¹ The point is important because it disposes of the silly notion that Milton borrowed the idea of writing a tragedy on the classical model from the play of *Samson* by the Dutch poet Vondel See *Appendix to S A*, pp 162—164

² According to Edward Phillips, Milton dictated the poem to any one who chanced to be present and was willing to act as amanuensis, afterwards Phillips would go over the MS, correcting errors, under his uncle's direction

but again there was delay—this time through the great fire of London which disorganized business. Not till 1667
Published did *Paradise Lost* appear in print. The date of the agreement drawn up between Milton and his publisher—by which he received an immediate payment of £5, and retained certain rights over the future sale of the book—is dated April 27, 1667. The date on which *Paradise Lost* was entered in the Stationers' Register is August 20, 1667. No doubt, copies were in circulation in the autumn of this year.

This first edition of *Paradise Lost* raises curious points¹ of bibliography into which there is no need to enter
The first edition here, but we must note three things. (i) The poem was divided into—not twelve books but—ten. (ii) In the earlier copies issued to the public there were no prose *Arguments*, these (written, we may suppose, by Milton himself) were printed all together and inserted at the commencement of each of the later volumes of this first edition—an awkward arrangement changed in the second edition. (iii) Milton prefixed to the later copies the brief prefatory note on *The Verse*, explaining why he had used blank verse, and it was preceded by the address of *The Printer to the Reader*. It seems that the number of copies printed in the first edition was 1500, and the statement of another payment made by the publisher to Milton on account of the sale of the book shows that by April 26, 1669, i.e. a year and a half after the date of publication, 1300 copies had been disposed of.

¹ For example, no less than nine distinct title pages of this edition have been traced. This means that, though the whole edition was printed in 1667, only a limited number of copies were bound up and issued in that year. The rest would be kept in stock, unbound, and published in instalments, as required. Hence new matter could be inserted (such as the prose *Arguments*), and in each instalment it would be just as easy to bind up a new title page as to use the old one. Often the date had to be changed and we find that two of these pages bear the year 1667, four, 1668, and three, 1669. Seven have Milton's name in full, two, only his initials. Mr Leigh Solibey has collated them carefully in his book on Milton's autograph, pp. 81–84.

In 1674 the second edition was issued—with several changes. First, the epic was divided into twelve books, a more Vergilian number, by the sub-division¹ of books VII and X. Secondly, the prose *Arguments* were transferred from the beginning and prefixed to the respective books to which they severally belonged. Thirdly, a few changes² were introduced into the text—few of any great significance. Four years later, 1678, came the third edition, and in 1688 the fourth. This last was the well-known folio published by Tonson, *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* were bound up with some copies of it, so that Milton's three great works were obtainable in a single volume. The first annotated edition of *Paradise Lost* was that edited by Patrick Hume in 1695, being the sixth reprint. And during the last century editions³ were very numerous.

The second edition

Later editions

There is, indeed, little ground for the view which one so frequently comes across—that *Paradise Lost* met with scant appreciation, and that Milton was neglected by his contemporaries, and without honour in his lifetime. To the general public epic poetry will never appeal, more especially if it be steeped in the classical feeling that pervades *Paradise Lost*, but there must have been a goodly number of scholars and lettered readers to welcome the work—else why these successive editions, appearing at no very lengthy intervals? One thing, doubtless, which prejudiced its popularity was the personal resentment of the Royalist classes at Milton's political actions. They could not

Was Milton appreciated by his contemporaries?

¹ See note on XII 1—5

² For examples occurring in this volume, see V 302, 627, 636—641. It was to this second edition that the commendatory verses—the English set by the poet Andrew Marvell—were prefixed.

³ Preeminent among them is Bishop Newton's edition (1749). He was the first editor who took pains to secure accuracy of text, doing, on a smaller scale, for Milton what Theobald did for Shakespeare. His services too in the elucidation of certain aspects (notably the Scriptural) of Milton's learning have never been surpassed.

forget his long identification with republicanism, and there was much in the poem itself—covert sneers and gibes—which would repel many who were loyal to the Church and the Court. Further, the style of *Paradise Lost* was something very different from the prevailing tone of the literature then current and popular. Milton was the last of the Elizabethans, a lonely survival lingering on into days when French influence was beginning to dominate English taste. Even the metre of his poem must have sounded strange to ears familiarised to the crisp clearness and epigrammatic ring of the rhymed couplet. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, many whose praise was worth the having were proud of Milton: they felt that he had done honour to his country. He was accorded that which he had sought so earnestly—acceptance as a great national poet, and it is pleasant to read¹ how men of letters and social distinction would pay visits of respect to him, and how the white-winged Fame bore his name and reputation abroad, so that foreigners came to England for the especial purpose of seeing him.

There has been much discussion about the “sources” of *Paradise Lost*, and writers well nigh as countless as Vallombrosa’s autumn leaves have been thrust forth from their obscurity to claim the honour of having “inspired” (as the phrase is) the great epic. Most of these unconscious claimants were, like enough, unknown to Milton, and out of the motley, many-tongued throng Mr Mark Pattison thinks it worth while—perhaps as a concession to tradition—to mention but three.

First comes the Italian poet Giovanni-Battista Andreini²

Voltaire, in his *Essai sur la Poésie Epique* written in 1727, related that Milton, during his residence at Florence in 1638–9, saw “a comedy called *Adamo*”

The subject of the play was the Fall of Man—the actors, the Devils³, the Angels⁴, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Death, and the

¹ In the memoir by Phillips, and in Aubrey

² He lived 1578–1652

³ i.e. Lucifer, Satan, Beelzebub

⁴ Among them being the Archangel Michael

Seven Mortal Sins Milton pierced through the absurdity of that performance to the hidden majesty of the subject, which, being altogether unfit for the stage, yet might be, for the genius of Milton, and his only, the foundation of an epick poem" What authority he had for this legend Voltaire does not say It is not alluded to by any of Milton's contemporary biographers It may have been a mere invention¹ by some ill-wisher of the poet, a piece of malicious gossip circulated out of political spite against the great champion of republicanism But it has given rise to various conjectures as that Milton may have met Andreini himself, or may have read² the work, if he did not actually see it represented All of which is quite possible but then it is equally possible that none of these things happened We have only this random remark by Voltaire, unsupported by a scrap of satisfactory external evidence, and not substantiated by any striking internal resemblance between the *Adamo* and *Paradise Lost* Even to accept the Voltairean theory were only to admit that Andreini's play may have supplied Milton with a notion of what the subject which is common to the two poets might be made to yield Seeing the *Adamo* represented, or reading it, Milton may have discovered and been impressed by the "hidden majesty" of the theme that is like enough only we could wish some more conclusive testimony than Voltaire's unconfirmed account that Milton did ever either see or peruse the play

The second claimant is the Dutch poet, Joost van den Vondel He was contemporary with Milton, and the author of a great number of works Among *Vondel's*
"*Lucifer*" them were several dramas on Scriptural subjects

¹ Even Johnson, no friendly critic of Milton, characterised it as "a wild and unauthorised story"

² It had been printed in 1613, and agun in 1617 The title page of the first edition describes the work as "L'Adamo, Sacra Rappresentatione, da Giovanni Battista Andreini *Milano, 1613*" A translation by Hayley was printed in Cowper's edition of Milton He would be clever who should find ought markedly Miltonic in the *Adamo* Pope could not (according to Spence, *Anecdotes*)

With three of them Milton is supposed by some writers to have been acquainted. These are *Lucifer* (1654), a drama on the revolt of the angels and their fall from heaven, *John the Messenger* (1662), and *Adam in Banishment* (1664). In a work¹ published a few years since it was contended that Milton borrowed a good deal from these three poems—a view from which I beg leave to dissent. It is unsupported by a shred of external testimony, and is intrinsically unlikely.

That Milton had probably heard of Vondel may be conceded. Vondel enjoyed a great reputation, beside which, there was in the 17th century much intercourse between England and Holland, and Milton from his position as Secretary, no less than from his controversies with Salmasius and Morus, must have had his thoughts constantly directed towards the Netherlands.

Also, we learn that he had some knowledge of the Dutch language. But it will be observed that the earliest of the poems with which he is thought

to have been too conversant, namely *Lucifer*, was not published till after his blindness, while by the time that the last of them, *Adam in Banishment*, appeared, *Paradise Lost* was almost completed. It is impossible that Milton read a line of the works himself if he knew them at all, it must have been through the assistance of some reader or translator, and considering how many details concerning the last years of Milton's life have survived, it is exceeding curious that this reader or translator should have escaped mention, and that the Vondelian fiction should not have been heard of till a century after the poet's death. For there were plenty of people ready to do him an ill-turn and damage his reputation, and plagiarism from his Dutch contemporary would have been an excellent cry to raise. As it is, Milton's biographers—and contemporaries—Phillips, Aubrey, Toland, Antony à Wood, are absolutely silent on the subject. Phillips indeed and Toland expressly mention the languages in which Milton used to have works read to him. The list is extensive it includes

¹ I allude to Mr Edmundson's *Milton and Vondel* (1885)

Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish and French and it does *not* include Dutch—a most significant omission

In default of external proof those who put forward this ignoble theory of plagiarism have recourse to the test of the parallel passage: they cite what they conceive to be similarities of thought, description and expression between Vondel's three poems and *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. This test is always unsatisfactory—even when the writers compared use the same vehicle of expression, a common language. But applied to writers separated by difference of tongue the test becomes well nigh worthless. It will prove everything—or nothing: you have only to take passages that treat of the same subject and translate the one as far as may be, into the actual words of the other, and the charge of plagiarism will seem proved up to the hilt. But the process does not commend itself to impartial critics, and I think that any unbiassed reader who examines these supposed similarities between Milton and Vondel will be of opinion, that the most *The resemblance is accidental* are merely ridiculous—no similarities at all—and that the few Vondelian passages which may be compared quite legitimately with parts of *Paradise Lost* only serve to illustrate the elementary truth that writers who handle the same themes must meet in periodic points of resemblance¹

There remains the so-called *Cædmon Paraphrase*. In the Bodleian is the manuscript of an Old English metrical *Paraphrase* of parts² of the Old Testament. *Cædmon* This work was long attributed to the Northumbrian religious writer Cædmon, of whom Bede speaks. Cædmon lived in the seventh century. He is supposed to have died about 670. There is no reason for thinking that he was not the author of sacred poems, as Bede represents him to have been, but there is also no possibility of believing that the *Paraphrase*, as we have it, was written by him. It is a composite work in which

¹ This Vondel question is discussed at some detail in an essay appended to my edition of *Samson Agonistes* (Pitt Press Series), pp. 148—168. — Namely *Genesis*, *Exodus* and *Daniel*. It is the paraphrase of *Genesis* that would have concerned Milton most.

several hands may be traced, and the different styles belong to a date long subsequent to Cædmon¹. The MS. was once in the possession of Archbishop Usher. He presented it in 1651 to his secretary, the Teutonic scholar, Francis Junius, commonly called Franciscus Junius. Junius published the MS. at Amsterdam in 1655. Milton never saw the *Paraphrase* in print, for the same reason that he never saw Vondel's *Lucifer*. But inasmuch as Junius had been settled in England since 1620, it is quite likely that he knew Milton², if so, he may have mentioned the *Paraphrase*, and even translated parts of it. Here, however, as in the previous cases of Andreini and Vondel, we cannot get beyond conjecture, the question resolves itself perforce into the irritating 'perhaps,' 'may have,' *plus* the inevitable parallel passage. For just as one critic is ready with his "resemblances" from the *Adamo*, and another with reams of crude commonplace from *Lucifer*, so the victims of the Cædmon fallacy have their set of pet parallels betwixt the *Paraphrase* (which in its Old English dress was probably unintelligible to Milton³) and *Paradise Lost*. And though we have mentioned but three of these supposed "sources" of *Paradise Lost*—perhaps three too many—yet there be who shall say how many other works in which "resemblances" have been detected? In fact, what it comes to is this: almost every work (no matter what the language) dealing with the same subject as *Paradise Lost* and written prior to it, has been seized on and made to serve the purposes of the traffickers in parallel passages. Dutch epics

¹ See the article by Mr Henry Bradley in the *Dictionary of Biography*. There is also a good discussion of the authorship of the work in the Appendix to Professor Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*.

² This was first pointed out by Sharon Turner, see also Masson, *Life*, vi 557.

³ In a very ingenious paper in *Anglia*, iv pp 401—405, Professor Wuelcker argues that Milton had not much knowledge of Anglo Saxon. In his *History of Britain* he habitually quotes Latin Chronicles, and in one place virtually admits that an Old English chronicle was not intelligible to him.

(with "the very Dutch sublimity" which Southey discovered in the *Ancient Mariner*), Latin epics and tragedies¹ by German and Scotch and English scholars, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese poems all bring grist to the mill, and the outcome is a mass—gross as a mountain, open, palpable—of what Dr Masson justly terms "laborious nonsense"

Now to prove a negative is proverbially difficult, and it is beyond any man's power to demonstrate that Milton was *not* acquainted with Andreini, or *Milton no plagiarist* Vondel, or Cædmon², or some of the other writers He *may* have known their works he *may* have been indebted to them for an occasional suggestion It is an open question it admits of no decisive settlement one way or the other, because we have no decisive evidence—external or internal But that Milton "plagiarised" from them, that in any of them lay the "origin" of *Paradise Lost*, that the qualities which have made the epic immortal were due, in the faintest degree, to any other genius than that of Milton himself these are fond delusions, vainly imagined, without warranty, and altogether to be cast out

We must indeed recognise in Milton's style the impress of four great influences—these being the Bible, the classics, the Italian poets, and English literature *The four great influences discernible in Milton* Of the Bible he possessed a knowledge such as few have had There are hundreds of allusions to it the words of Scripture underlie some part of the text of every page of *Paradise Lost*, and apart from verbal *The Bible* reminiscences there is much of the spirit that

¹ There was a Latin tragedy, *Adamus Exil*, by the jurist Grotius Milton met Grotius in Paris (as he tells us in the *Defensio Secunda*), and quotes him in his prose works Probably he read the tragedy

² I may note in passing that "resemblances" every whit as striking as those which are cited from the *Paraphrase* may be found in Cynewulf's *Christ* by any one who will study the beautiful edition of that poem lately edited by Mr Gollancz of Christ's College. Yet who would contend that the *Codex Exoniensis*, wrapped in the cloistered obscurity of a chapter house, was known to Milton? Identity of inspiration (the Scripture) explains similarity

pervades that noblest achievement of the English tongue
The classics Scarcely less powerful was the influence of the classics Milton's allusiveness extends over the whole empire of classical humanity and letters, and to the scholar his work is full of the exquisite charm of endless reference to the noblest things that the ancients have thought and said That he was deeply versed in Italian
Italian poets poetry the labours of his early editors have abundantly proved, and their comparative studies are confirmed by the frequent mention of Dante, Petrarch, Tasso, Ariosto and others in his prose works and correspondence In
English literature English literature I imagine that he had read everything worth reading Without doubt, he was most affected by "our admired Spenser¹" He was, says² Dryden, "the poetical son of Spenser Milton has acknowledged to me that Spenser was his original" And there was a Spenserian school of poets, mostly
Spenser, and the Spenserian school Cambridge men, and some of them contemporary with Milton at the University, with whose works he evidently had a considerable acquaintance Among these the two Fletchers were conspicuous—Giles Fletcher, author of the sacred poems *Christ's Victory on Earth and Christ's Triumph in Heaven*, and Phineas Fletcher, author of *The Purple Island* The influence of the Fletchers is manifest in Milton's early poems³, and it is traceable in *Paradise Lost* Finally, we must not forget Sylvester Joshua Sylvester (of whom little is known beyond that he was born in 1563, died in 1618, and
Sylvester's 'Du Bartas' diversified the profession of merchant with the making of much rhyme translated into exceedingly Spenserian verse *The Divine Weeks and Works* of the French

¹ *Animadversions*, P IV III 84 On Milton's feeling for Spenser, see the detailed note to *Il Penseroso* 116—120

² *Preface to Fables*

³ See the *Introduction* to *Comus*, p xxxviii, and that to *Lycidas*, pp xlv—xlvii Besides the Fletchers, Henry More, the famous "Cambridge Platonist," might be mentioned Milton must have known him at Christ's College

poet, Du Bartas¹ The subject of this very lengthy work is the story of Creation, with the early history of the Jews The translation was amazingly popular Dryden confessed that he had once preferred Sylvester to Spenser There is no doubt that Milton studied Sylvester in his youth, and *The Divine Weeks* is certainly one of the works whereof account must be taken in any attempt to estimate the literary influences that moulded Milton's style

But a writer may be influenced by others, and not "plagiarise," and it is well to remember that from Vergil downwards the great poets have exercised their royal right of adapting the words of their forerunners and infusing into them a fresh charm and suggestion, since in allusion lies one of the chief delights of

What constitutes the greatness of "Paradise Lost"

literature It is well, also, to realise wherein lies the greatness of *Paradise Lost*, and to understand that all the borrowing in the world could not contribute a jot to the qualities which have rendered the epic "a possession for ever" What has made the poem live is not the story, nobly though that illustrates the eternal antagonism of righteousness and wrong, and the overthrow of evil, nor the construction, though this is sufficiently artistic, nor the learning, though this is vast, nor the characterisation, for which there is little scope not these things, though all are factors in the greatness of the poem, and in all Milton rises to the height of his argument—but the incomparable elevation of the style, "the shaping spirit of Imagination," and the mere majesty of the music

¹ Sylvester translated a good deal from Du Bartas beside the *Divine Weeks*, and rhymed on his own account Dr Grosart has collected his works into two bulky volumes

MILTON'S BLANK VERSE.

Something must be said on the subject of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, and the prefatory note, already mentioned, in which Milton estimates the comparative merits of blank verse and rhyme can not be omitted. It runs thus¹

Milton's preface on the verse of "Paradise Lost"

"THE VERSE.

The measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin, rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse, in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age to set off wretched matter and lame metre, graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse,

¹ Preceded by some remarks from the publisher

"The Printer to the Reader

Courteous Reader, there was no Argument at first intended to the book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procured it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the poem rimes not.—*S. Simmons*"

than else they would have expressed them Not without cause therefore, some both Italian and Spanish poets of prime note have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight, which consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned ancients both in poetry and all good oratory This neglect then of rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming "

Milton's attitude towards rhyme reminds us of the condemnations showered on it by Elizabethan critics Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570) sneers at "our *The use of rhyme* rude beggerly ryming, brought first into Italie by *Goths* and *Hunnes*, whan all good verses and all good learning to, were destroyed by them and at last receyued into England by men of excellent wit indeede, but of small learning, and lesse judgement in that behalfe" "Barbarous" is his darling epithet for rhymed verse Puttenham¹ is of a like mind, waving aside "the rhyming poesie of the barbarians," and Webbe² in his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1586) takes up the tale, ridiculing it as "tinkerly verse"—"brutish poesie"—"a great decay of the good order of versifying" Why Milton should have adopted the same position as these Elizabethan critics who approached the question in a spirit of the merest pedantry, and based their objections to rhyme solely on the fact that it was not employed by the ancients, it is not easy to say He uses rhyme occasionally in *Samson Agonistes*, in spite of his denunciation of it here, and his own early poems are sufficient refutation of the heresy that therein lies "no true musical delight."

¹ *Arte of English Poesie*, in Haslewood, I pp 7—9

² Haslewood, II 55

There is a polemical tone in his remarks, as though he were replying to some unnamed antagonist, and I cannot help thinking that this preface was meant to be his contribution to the controversy then raging over the comparative advantages of rhymed and unrhymed metres on the stage. In fact, significant in itself, Milton's opinion becomes doubly so if regarded from the standpoint of his contemporaries. Hardly could they fail to see in it a retort to what Dryden had written in the behalf of rhyme—notably in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (1665), in which the rhymed couplet had been set forth as the best vehicle of dramatic expression. In play after play Dryden had put his theory into practice: others had followed his example to rhyme or not to rhyme—that had become the great question, and here was Milton brushing the matter on one side as of no moment, with the autocratic dictum that rhyme was a vain and fond thing with which a "sage and serious" poet need have no commerce. His readers must have detected the contemporary application of his words—just as later on they must have interpreted his preface to *Samson Agonistes*, with its pointed eulogy of the Greek stage and its depreciation of Restoration tragedy (and "other common interludes"), as a counterblast to the comparison which Dryden had drawn between the modern and the classical drama, in the interests of the former.

However, be this correct or not, and superfluous as it may seem to us that Milton should justify his adoption of blank verse—wherein his surpassing skill is the best of all justifications—we have cause to be grateful to the "stumblings" of the unlettered which led him to write this preface, since it happily defines the qualities for which the metre of *Paradise Lost* is remarkable.

The distinguishing characteristic of Milton's blank verse is his use of what Mr Saintsbury¹ calls the verse-paragraph. Blank verse is exposed to two dangers: it may be formal and stiff by being circumscribed to single lines or couplets, or diffuse

The 'paragraph' in Milton's blank verse.

¹ *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 327

and formless through the sense and rhythm being carried on beyond the couplet. In its earlier stages the metre suffered from the former tendency. It either closed with a strong pause at the end of every line, or just struggled to the climax of the couplet¹. Further it never extended until Marlowe took the "drumming decasyllabon" into his hands, broke up the fetters of the couplet-form, and by the process of overflow carried on the rhythm from verse to verse according as the sense required. It is in his plays that we first get verse in which variety of cadence and pause and beat takes the place of rhyme. Milton entered on the heritage that Marlowe and Shakespeare bequeathed, and brought blank verse to its highest pitch of perfection as an instrument of narration.

Briefly, that perfection lies herein: if we examine a page of *Paradise Lost* we find that what the poet has to say is, for the most part, conveyed, not in single lines, nor in rigid couplets—but in flexible combinations of verses, which wait upon his meaning, not twisting or constraining the sense, but suffering it to be "variously drawn out," so that the thought is merged in its expression.

And these combinations, or paragraphs, are informed by a perfect internal concent and rhythm—held together by a chain of harmony. With a writer less sensitive to sound this free method of versifying would result in mere chaos. But Milton's ear is so delicate, that he steers unfaltering through the long, involved passages, distributing the pauses and rests with a cunning which knits the paragraph into a coherent, regulated whole. He combines, in fact, the two essential qualities of blank verse—freedom and form—the freedom that admits variety of effect, without which a long narrative becomes intolerably monotonous, and the form which saves an unrhymed measure from drifting into that which is nearer to bad prose than to good verse.

*Rhythm and
balance of his
paragraphs*

Analysis of the metrical principles on which his lines are based is a thorny matter, but without attempting to go fully into a

¹ Cf. the passage from *Gorboduc*, quoted later on

subject whereon critics of equal competence hold very dissimilar opinions, we may note a few points, to remember which is to have a key to some of the apparent difficulties of his scansion. First, be it recollected that the quantitative system of metre with which the works of Greek and Latin poets familiarise us does not apply in English. The metrical effects of English verse rest on the principle of accent, and it is convenient to regard an accented or stressed syllable as long—an unaccented or unstressed syllable as short. Secondly, the typical blank verse is a line of five iambic feet

*The iambic
basis of blank
verse*

that is, of ten syllables, with five accents or stresses falling on the even numbers, i.e. on syllables 2, 4, 6, 8, 10. These are typical examples

"Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings¹"

In its early days, as understood and practised by some pre-Shakespearian writers, blank verse conformed rigidly to this type. "Surely," complained Gascoigne² in 1575, "I can lament that wee are fallen into suche a playne and simple manner of wryting, that there is none other foote vsed but one. But since it is so [let] all the wordes in your verse be so placed as the first sillable may sound short or be depressed, the second long or eleuate, the third shorte, the fourth long, the fifth shorte, etc."

That this was the accepted notion of blank verse may be seen from an extract from the piece which enjoys the honour of being the first specimen of English classical tragedy—*Coriolanus* (1561)

"Why should I live and linger forth my time,
In longer life to double my distress?
O me most woeful wight! whom no mishap
Long ere this day could haue bereaved hence

¹ *P. L.* iv 763, 764

² *Certaine Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575 (Arber's ed. p. 34)

Mought not these hands by fortune or by fate
Have pierced this breast, and life with iron rest?¹"

And so on, through scene after scene

No one who recalls the history of blank verse will be surprised that it should have been of this strict iambic type. The impulse to abandon rhyme and to substitute a blank or unrhymed measure was a phase of the classicism fostered by the Renaissance

The use of unrhymed metre due to classical influence

The standard to which critics appealed then at every turn was the practice of the Greeks and Romans, and it was under this classical tyranny that certain critics and scholar-poets surrendered the native principle of rhyme, and evolved a monotonous iambic line—the "pure iambic" as Campion calls it—which was considered to be a good substitute for the Greek *senarius*. True, the Greek *senarius* was a foot longer, and admitted other feet than the iambus, but the Elizabethan critics deemed that their decasyllabic line, with its five unvarying accents, was a very tolerable equivalent for the metre of Sophocles and Euripides. Saith Ascham in the *Schoolmaster* (1570), "I am sure, our English tong will receiue *carmen Iambicum* as naturalie, as either *Greke* or *Latin*" So thought others and for a brief while *carmen iambicum* had much vogue. But public taste soon rebelled against this single-foot measure, and then there came into being the "licentiate iambic"² that is, a measure in which the iambic predominated, but which permitted the presence of other feet—notably the trochee. In the hands of the dramatists—to Marlowe be the chief honour given—this "licentiate iambic" developed into blank verse.

Now that Milton's blank verse is "licentiate"—in that it admits *dissyllabic* feet which are not iambi—few critics, I opine, would dispute. Let us glance at these *dissyllabic*, non-iambic, feet

Dissyllabic variations from the iambic type in Milton

A dissyllabic foot may be of four kinds an

¹ Viceroy's speech at the beginning of Act IV—one of the most vigorous in the play

² The phrase is Thomas Campion's (*Art of English Poesie*, 1602—see Haslewood, II 168)

iambus=a short syllable followed by a long, a trochee=long followed by short, a spondee=two longs, a pyrrhic=two shorts. Examples of dissyllabic variations are not

Has use of Trochees far to seek. Here are lines with trochees in the italicised parts

"Rise out | of chaos or if Sion hill¹"

"In the | visions | of God It was a hill²"

"On a sunbeam | swift as | a shooting star³"

"Instruct me, for thou know'st, | thou from | the first⁴"

"Which of us who beholds the bright | surface⁵"

It will be seen that a trochee is admitted in any foot of the verse, but it is most common in the first, giving the line a vigorous impetus, less common in the third and fourth places, rare in the second, and very rare in the fifth⁶. Sometimes we have two trochees in the same line—these being examples

"uni|versal | reproach, far worse to bear⁷"

"uni|versally adorned with highest praises⁸"

Of Spondees Here, again, are instances of a spondaic rhythm⁹

"Wide | v|o|l|u|ng, all approach far off to fright¹⁰"

"Hall | S|o|u | of the | M|o|st | H|igh |, heir of both worlds¹¹"

¹ P L I 10

² VI 377

³ IV 556

⁴ I 19

⁵ VI 472

⁶ My authority is Mr Bridges. He treats these trochaic feet as "in versions of rhythm," but as they are really trochees, it seems simpler to call them accordingly. I believe that one of the first writers to admit the trochee into blank verse was Marlowe, he limits it to the first, third and fourth feet. In Shakespeare, as in Milton, it occurs in all five, though oftenest in the first. It generally comes after a pause or an emphasised monosyllable, and emphasises the sense of the word on which the accent is so shifted. For double trochees in Shakespeare, cf., perhaps, *Cymbeline* I 3 7, "Senseless | lie | Happier therein than I," and *Comedy of Errors* I 1 151, "Therefore, | merchant, | I'll limit thee this day" (See Abbott's *Shakespearian Grammar* pp 328—330)

⁷ P L VI 34

⁸ S A 175

⁹ "I perpetually find in Milton's verse a foot for which 'Spondee' is the best name, and it would be difficult to characterise many of his lines otherwise than by calling them Spondaic" (Masson)

¹⁰ XI 121

¹¹ P. R IV 633

As a pyrrhic consists of two short or unaccented syllables, it is obvious that any line in which one occurs must contain less than the normal number of five accents *Of Pyrrhus*

This failure of accent is not uncommon in Shakespeare and Milton. Dr Abbott thinks that of Shakespeare's lines "rather less than one of three has the full number of five emphatic accents." I doubt whether the instances are so frequent in Milton, but they are sufficiently common to make it desirable to remember that five stresses are not essential to a blank verse—rather that for variety sake it is necessary that one or more should be occasionally remitted. The following examples show that this may occur in any¹ of the first four feet

"*Whether* upheld by strength, or chance, or fate²"

"Productive *in* herb, plant, and nobler birth³"

"Yet fell remember *and* fear to transgress⁴"

"Before the heavens thou wert, *and* at the voice⁵"

In the fifth foot there must be some accent, as the last syllable derives a certain stress from the mere fact that it marks the close of the line. Sometimes there is a double failure of accent in the same verse, leaving it with only three stresses, Mr Bridges instances the line—"His ministers of vengeance *and* pursuit⁶" The percentage of such verses in Shakespeare is about 7

In applying this principle of the omission of the accent we must bear one thing in mind—that in the majority of cases where it happens one of the seemingly unstressed syllables is a preposition. This is so in no less than nine out of eleven examples quoted by Dr Masson as typical. Now in respect of language Milton belongs to the Elizabethan, not the Restoration, age—we must compare him with—not Dryden but—Shakespeare, and every student of Shakespeare knows—(the fact was pointed out years ago by Sidney Walker)—that prepositions

¹ They occur rarely in the first foot, most commonly in the fourth. Shakespeare too seldom leaves the first foot without an accent (Abbott, 330)

² P L 1 133

³ IX 111

⁴ VI 912

⁵ III 9

⁶ I 170

were, for metrical purposes, much fuller and more emphatic than they are now. Thus in the phrase "out

*The scansion of
prepositions in
Müller*

of" the *of* often carries a distinct accent¹. Hence

it is quite possible that Milton, with his leaning towards Shakespearian usage, intended *some* stress to fall on the prepositions in these feet which, if scanned according to our modern practice of giving the preposition scarcely any stress at all, would be pronounced pyrrhics. Thus in the line—"On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star"—if Milton stressed the preposition, then the first foot is a trochee, not a pyrrhic. Again in the line—"Dove-like sat'st brooding *on* the vast abyss"—if the *on* is unstressed, the third foot is a pyrrhic (as Dr Masson takes it), and the line has only four beats, but if (as I should say) the preposition does carry a stress, then the foot becomes an iambus, and the line gets its proper complement of five beats. To recognise this method of stressing prepositions were to reduce by at least two-thirds the number of lines in which the pyrrhic is commonly supposed to occur, but unfortunately in this, as in many other points of his scansion, we can never ascertain with entire certainty Milton's intention, or know how exactly he wished his lines to be read.

And this imperfect knowledge hampers us still more when we examine the so-called *trissyllabic* variations in

*Trissyllabic
variations*

his verse. Dr Masson recognises them. Mr Bridges rejects them. It is a question of ear, of

personal taste, as must always be the case where scansion depends, not on the fixed quantity of syllables, but on a thing so unfixed and undefined as accent. I confess that there are lines in *Paradise Lost* which I am unable to scan on any other understanding than that Milton did admit trissyllabic feet—dactyls, anapæsts, &c., and on the other hand, I fail to discover them in many of the places where Dr Masson traces their presence. I believe the genuinely trissyllabic element to be far less than he supposes. In a true trissyllabic foot the short or unstressed syllables must, surely, have equal force, but, so far

¹ Cf. *Romeo* 11. 1. 60, *Coriol* 1. 10. 19. (Abbott, *Grammar*, p. 337.)

as I can judge, this is not so in many of the examples cited by Dr Masson. Thus in the line (VII. 411)—“Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,” he says that the third foot is an anapest, if so, we must lay the same stress on the last syllable of “unwieldy” as on the first of “enormous,” but to me it seems that the *y* has scarce any value at all—it is glided over so lightly by the voice as to be elided, and the foot becomes an iambus—Wallowing | unwield(y) | enor|mous &c. Or take the line—“Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme.” What is the first foot? An amphibrach, says Dr Masson, so that we must begin the verse—“Whom rēasōn | hath equalled &c.” But I suspect that most of us would prefer to hold with Mr Bridges that the last syllable of “reason” is elided, i.e. pronounced so very slightly that the word gets the accentual value of an emphatic monosyllable, then the first foot may be taken as an ordinary iambus. There are countless similar cases throughout the two epics and *Samson*, hence the question whether they ought to be classed as genuinely trisyllabic feet is all important. For myself, comparing them with the trisyllabic movement in verses which are professedly anapestic or dactylic, I should say that in the majority of instances they are not, and were never intended to be regarded as, trisyllabic feet: that on the contrary the iambic type is very marked in Milton’s blank verse—far more than it is in Shakespeare—and that most of the apparent variations may be made to conform to this type. At any rate many of them can be explained on certain principles not peculiar to Milton but observed by Shakespeare.

These are the two principles of *elision* and *contraction*. *Elision* comprehends not merely the cases where a vowel or syllable must be dropped altogether in pronunciation, but those numerous cases where the metre shows that a vowel or syllable possesses *something* less than its normal quantitative value, so that it is either slurred, or made almost to coalesce with a preceding or succeeding sound. Here are the commoner methods of elision, as I understand it.

*Elisions in
Milton's blank
verse*

- (i) An unaccented vowel preceding an accented vowel or

diphthong may be elided—in poetry as in colloquial speech, this applies to substantival endings such as *ion*—cf *visitation*, and *ience*, cf *patience*, to adjectival endings such as *ial*, cf *ambrosial*, and *iant*, cf *radiant*, and *ious*, cf *tedious*, and *cous*, cf *bounteous*. Such elisions belong to the currency of everyday speech, and scarce need comment. They are, obviously, very numerous.

(ii) "Syllables," says Dr Abbott¹, "ending in vowels are frequently elided before vowels in reading, though not in writing" This applies largely to monosyllables—prepositions, pronouns, adverbs, and, in particular, the definite article. It explains the scansion of lines like

"To sound at general doom The angelic blast"²

"Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsaf'st"³

"Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heaven submit"⁴

(iii) Conversely, an unaccented vowel or syllable following an accented vowel or diphthong may be elided—this applies to words like *power*, *flower*—*piety*, *fiery*—and participles such as *seeing*, *being*, *flying*. It clears up the scansion in

"Is piety thus | and pure devotion paid"⁵

"Then through | the fiery pillar and the cloud"⁶

"Half flying |, behoves | him now both oar and sail"⁷

"He ceased, and the Arch | angel | ic power prepared"⁸

(iv) The elision of an unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* is common in Shakespeare and Milton, the combination *er*⁹ is

¹ *Grammar*, p. 344

² XI 76 The elision in these cases is indicated by the autograph manuscripts of Milton's poems, thus in the *Lycidas* MS line 33 reads—"Temper'd to th' oaten flute" If Milton elided 'the' in *Lycidas*, why not in *P L*?

³ XI 170

⁴ XI 372

⁵ XI 452

⁶ XII 208

⁷ II 942

⁸ XI 126

⁹ Cf. again the *Lycidas* MS where we have such elided forms as *watrive*=watery, l. 12, *westring*=westering, l. 31, and *wandering* in the *Comus* MS, l. 39, and *toured* in the *Arcades* MS, l. 21. With these examples before us it is easy to see how Milton scanned, say, *P L* XI 779, "*Wandering that watery desert, I had hope*"

most affected thus, especially in participles, e.g. *glistering*, *suffering*, *differing*. So in *reverence*, *severous*, *temperance*, and in the combination *or*, cf. *pastoral*, *amorous*, and in *ur*, cf. *unnatural*, *disfiguring*. Shakespeare and Milton extend the practice to double vowels, as in *conqueror* (cf. *Julius Cæsar* v 5 55) and *neighbouring* (cf. *1 Hen. IV* III 1 90). The number of words which come under this system is great.

(v) Mr Bridges notes that a similar elision occurs when an unaccented vowel is followed by pure *l*—as in *popular*, *populous*—or even by *ll*,

(vi) and also before *n*—especially with adjectives like *luminous*, *ominous*, and participles like *reasoning*, *loosening* (cf. *P L* VI 643), *enlightening*¹. The abbreviation of participles thus has become almost the current rule.

Contraction plays a great part in Milton's scansion. Four contractions of the inflections of verbs are specially noticeable and important, these being —(i) the '*st*' *Contractions* of the 2nd person singular, indicative present, (ii) the '*d*' of the perfect, (iii) the '*d*' of the past participle, (iv) and the '*n*' of the past participle in *fall'n*=*fallen*², *giv'n*=*given* &c. Any one who has studied the MSS of Milton's poems will have observed how careful he is to omit the vowel where the scansion requires the contracted form. Thus, to take the first of these contractions, in the autograph (among the Trinity papers) of the *Sonnet* addressed to Henry Lawes, we find such examples as "Thou honour'*st* vers," "to honour thee that tun'*st* thir happiest lines," and instances might be multiplied. Indeed, Milton sometimes uses the contracted form when the effect seems distinctly awkward. Again, on the first page of the *Lycidas* MS we meet with participial abbreviations like *forc'd* (l. 4), *destin'd* (l. 20), *nur'st* (l. 23), *stoopt* (l. 31), and perfects like *danc'd* (l. 34), *lov'd* (l. 36), *clos'd* (l. 51). Even in prose Milton appears to have employed

¹ Cf. *battning*=*battening*, *Lycidas* MS, l. 29.

² Spelt *faln* in one of the *prose* sketches (*Isaac redeemed*) among the Trinity MSS. So in the second line of the second *Sonnet* the MS has *stolne*=*stolen*.

the abbreviated no less readily than the full forms—as reference to the draft of *Adam unparadis'd* will show

That these methods—perfectly regular methods—of contraction affect the scansion of an enormous number of lines, each can verify for himself

There are some miscellaneous abbreviations which it is convenient to remember because of the frequency with which they—at least, some of them—occur. Some words that Milton often shortens. The most do not come under any particular rule of elision or contraction. *Spirit*, for example, is often monosyllabic in Shakespeare and Milton, we may compare the duplicate form *sprite*, perhaps the rule of the unaccented vowel followed by pure *r* applies here. *Heaven*, again, is often a monosyllable, even in prose Milton writes it *heavn*¹. Similarly *seven*², *seventh*, *seventy*³ are shortened. *Petulous* may scan as a dissyllable, the *i* being slurred⁴, cf the colloquial form *parlous*. Conventional contractions like *d'er*=*ever*, *o'er*=*over*, require no comment, though we may note how Milton writes the latter *o're*, that there may be no mistake about its abbreviation. *Whether* is sometimes equivalent to a monosyllable, but as it was often spelt *wh'er* or *where* in Elizabethan English⁵, the shortening for metrical convenience is intelligible enough, there was probably some pronunciation of the word now lost.

On the whole, I must repeat that, so far as I can see, the iambic rhythm is the foundation of Milton's blank verse, that by the application of one or other of the principles of elision and contraction which have been enumerated many of the apparent variations—dissyllabic and trisyllabic—may be made to harmonise with this iambic basis, and that the really trisyllabic element is inconsiderable.

¹ Cf the draft of *Adam unparadis'd*, line 3

² Cf XII 158

³ Cf XII 345

⁴ An illustration of Dr Abbott's statement that "*r* frequently softens or destroys a following vowel (the vowel being nearly lost in the burr which follows the effort to pronounce the *r*)," *Grammar*, p. 345

⁵ Abbott, p. 347

One peculiarity of the metre of *Paradise Lost*, pointed out by Coleridge, is the rarity of verses with an extra syllable (or two extra syllables) at the close *Verses with an extra syllable* Shakespeare uses them freely—especially in his later plays, and the percentage of them in *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* is high. But in *Paradise Lost* Milton avoids them. There are several varieties of this extra-syllable verse¹—e.g. lines where (i) the supernumerary syllable comes at the close, (ii) where it comes in the course of the line, particularly after the second foot, (iii) where there are two extra syllables at the end, as in the line, "Like one | that means | his pro|per harm | in *mánacles*" (*Coriolanus* 1 9 57), and (iv) where there are two extra syllables in the middle, as in *Coriolanus*, 1 1 230, "Our must|y su | perflut|y | See our | best elders." In *Comus* there are examples of all four varieties in *Paradise Lost* of only two²—(i) and (iii). This is a fresh illustration of what we have just seen—that the metre of the epic is mainly iambic, and consequently decasyllabic in character. Such verse has a slower, statelier movement, and is therefore appropriate to a narrative poem that deals with the loftiest themes in an elevated, solemn style. Verse, on the other hand, that admits the supernumerary syllable at the close of the line tends towards a conversational rapidity of rhythm which makes it suitable for the purposes of the dramatist. It is typical of Milton's "inevitable," almost infallible, art that he should vary his style according to the several characteristics and requirements of the drama and of epic narration.

As he lays such stress upon the internal economy and balance of his verse-paragraphs, much must depend on the pause or rest which in English *The pause or caesura* prosody answers, to some extent, to the classical

¹ See Abbott, pp 331, 338, 397

² Cf xi 359, "Expect to hear, supernal grace contending." In most of the cases of *one* extra syllable it is a present participle that is affected. I believe that the cases with *two* such syllables are—in Milton—confined to words like *society*, cf *P R* 1 302, "Such solitude before choicest *society*."

cæsura Dr Masson notes that Milton's favourite pause is at the end of the third foot. These are typical specimens

"I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed | —with happiness
And immortality, | that fondly lost,
This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death | so death becomes
His final remedy" |

Next in frequency comes the pause after the second foot, as thus

"ere fallen
From innocence" |
"Our days,
Numbered, though sad" |
"Made one with me, | as I with thee am one"

Scarcely need we say that in this, as in everything else, Milton never forgets that variety of effect is essential.

It remains to note two remarks made by Milton in his preface on *The Verse*. One of the elements, he says, of "true musical delight" is "fit quantity of syllables." By this, I think, he meant that every word should bear its *natural* accent, i.e. that a word should not be forced by the exigence of the metre to bear an accent alien to it. Rather, a poet should be careful to "speak with just note and accent," so that each stress should fall naturally, and the "fit quantity" of the component parts of a line not be violated. Considering the length of *Paradise Lost*, it is marvellous how he maintains an unfaltering appropriateness of accent. Again, another element of the pleasure offered by poetry lies in "apt numbers." Here he referred to that adaptation of rhythm to subject whereby the sound becomes an echo to the sense. No one has understood the art of blending the thought with its expression better than Milton. "What other poets effect," says Dr Guest⁶, "as it were by chance, Milton achieved by the aid of science and art, he studied the aptness

*Accent and
rhythm in
Milton*

¹ xi 57—62

² xi 30

³ xi 40

⁴ xi 44

⁵ Sonnet to Henry Lawes

⁶ English Rhythms, p. 530

of his numbers, and diligently tutored an ear which nature had gifted with the most delicate sensibility. In the flow of his rhythm, in the quality of his letter sounds, in the disposition of his pauses, his verse almost ever fits the subject, and so insensibly does poetry blend with this—the last beauty of exquisite versification—that the reader may sometimes doubt whether it be the thought itself, or merely the happiness of its expression, which is the source of a gratification so deeply felt."

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT

Morning approached, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream, he likes it not, yet comforts her they come forth to their day labours their morning hymn at the door of their bower God, to render Man inexcusable, sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand—who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance described, his coming discerned by Adam afar off, sitting at the door of his bower, he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve, their discourse at table. Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy, relates, at Adam's request, who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof, how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the North, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel, a Seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK V

NOW Morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime
Advancing, sowed the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam waked, so custom'd, for his sleep
Was aery light, from pure digestion bred,
And temperate vapours bland, which the only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispersed, and the shrill matin song
Of birds on every bough, so much the more
His wonder was to find unwakened Eve
With tresses discomposed, and glowing cheek, 10
As through unquiet rest He, on his side
Leaning half-raised, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamoured, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces, then, with voice
Mild as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whispered thus "Awake,
My fairest, my espoused, my latest found,
Heaven's last, best gift, my ever-new delight!
Awake! the morning shines, and the fresh field 20
Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,

What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet."

Such whispering waked her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake

"O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection! glad I see
Thy face, and morn returned, for I this night 30
(Such night till this I never passed) have dreamed,
If dreamed, not, as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day past, or morrow's next design,
But of offence and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irksome night. Methought,
Close at mine ear one called me forth to walk
With gentle voice, I thought it thine It said,
'Why sleep'st thou, Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields 40
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his love-laboured song, now reigns
Full-orbed the moon, and, with more pleasing light,
Shadowy sets off the face of things—in vain,
If none regard Heaven wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire,
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze?'
I rose as at thy call, but found thee not
To find thee I directed then my walk,
And on, methought, alone I passed through ways 50
That brought me on a sudden to the Tree
Of interdicted Knowledge Fair it seemed,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day,
And, as I wondering looked, beside it stood
One shaped and winged like one of those from Heaven

By us oft seen his dewy locks distilled
Ambrosia On that Tree he also gazed,
And, 'O fair plant,' said he, 'with fruit surcharged,
Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,
Nor god, nor man? Is knowledge so despised? 60
Or envy, or what reserve forbids to taste?
Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
Longer thy offered good, why else set here?'
This said, he pruned not, but with venturous arm
He plucked, he tasted Me damp horror chilled
At such bold words vouched with a deed so bold,
But he thus, overjoyed 'O fruit divine,
Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropped,
Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit
For gods, yet able to make gods of men! 70
And why not gods of men, since good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
'The author not impaired, but honoured more?
Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
Partake thou also happy though thou art,
Happier thou may'st be, worthier canst not be,
Taste this, and be henceforth among the gods
Thyself a goddess, not to Earth confined,
But sometimes in the Air, as we, sometimes
Ascend to Heaven, by merit thine, and see 80
What life the gods live there, and such live thou'
So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
Even to my mouth of that same fruit held part
Which he had plucked, the pleasant savoury smell
So quickened appetite that I, methought,
Could not but taste Forthwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The Earth outstretched immense, a prospect wide

And various wondering at my flight and change
To this high exaltation, suddenly 90
My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
And fell asleep, but, O, how glad I waked
To find this but a dream!" Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam answered sad

"Best image of myself, and dearer half,
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
Affects me equally, nor can I like
This uncouth dream, of evil sprung, I fear,
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure But know that in the soul 100
Are many lesser faculties, that serve
Reason as chief, among these Fancy next
Her office holds, of all external things,
Which the five watchful senses represent,
She forms imaginations, aery shapes,
Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion, then retires
Into her private cell when Nature rests
Oft in her absence mimic Fancy wakes 110
To imitate her, but, misjoining shapes,
Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams,
Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
Some such resemblances, methinks, I find
Of our last evening's talk in this thy dream,
But with addition strange, yet be not sad
Evil into the mind of god or man
May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
No spot or blame behind, which gives me hope
That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream, 120
Waking thou never wilt consent to do

Be not disheartened, then, nor cloud those looks,
 That wont to be more cheerful and serene
 Than when fair Morning first smiles on the world,
 And let us to our fresh employments rise
 Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers,
 That open now their choicest bosomed smells,
 Reserved from night, and kept for thee in store."

So cheered he his fair spouse, and she was cheered,
 But silently a gentle tear let fall 130
 From either eye, and wiped them with her hair,
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,
 Each in their crystal sluice, he, ere they fell,
 Kissed as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
 And pious awe, that feared to have offended

So all was cleared, and to the field they haste
 But first, from under shady arborous roof,
 Soon as they forth were come to open sight
 Of day-spring, and the sun—who, scarce uprisen,
 With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean-brim, 140
 Shot parallel to the Earth his dewy ray,
 Discovering in wide landskip all the east
 Of Paradise and Eden's happy plains—
 Lowly they bowed adoring, and began
 Their orisons, each morning duly paid
 In various style, for neither various style
 Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
 Their Maker, in fit strains pronounced, or sung
 Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
 Flowed from their lips, in prose or numerous verse, 150
 More tunable than needed lute or harp
 To add more sweetness and they thus began
 "These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
 Almighty! thine this universal frame,

Thus wondrous fair thyself how wondrous then !
 Unspeakable ! who sitt'st above these Heavens
 To us invisible, or dimly seen
 In these thy lowest works, yet these declare
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine
 Speak, ye who best can tell, ye Sons of Light, 160
 Angels, for ye behold him, and with songs
 And choral symphonies, day without night,
 Circle his throne rejoicing—ye in Heaven,
 On Earth join, all ye creatures, to extol
 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end
 Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,
 Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling Morn
 With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere
 While day arises, that sweet hour of prime 170
 Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
 Acknowledge him thy greater, sound his praise
 In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
 And when high noon hast gained, and when thou fall'st
 Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fliest,
 With the fixed stars, fixed in their orb that flies,
 And ye five other wandering Fires, that move
 In mystic dance not without song, resound
 His praise who out of darkness called up light.
 Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth 180
 Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run
 Perpetual circle, multiform, and mix
 And nourish all things, let your ceaseless change
 Vary to our great Maker still new praise
 Ye Mists and Exhalations, that now rise
 From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,
 Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,

In honour to the world's great Author rise,
 Whether to deck with clouds the uncoloured sky,
 Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers, 190
 Rising or falling still advance his praise
 His praise, ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,
 Breathe soft or loud, and wave your tops, ye Pines,
 With every plant, in sign of worship wave
 Fountains, and ye that warble, as ye flow,
 Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise
 Join voices, all ye living Souls, ye Birds,
 That singing up to Heavengate ascend,
 Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise
 Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk 200
 The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep,
 Witness if I be silent, morn or even,
 To hill or valley, fountain, or fresh shade,
 Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise
 Hail, universal Lord! be bounteous still
 To give us only good, and if the night
 Have gathered aught of evil, or concealed,
 Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark "

So prayed they innocent, and to their thoughts
 Firm peace recovered soon, and wonted calm 210
 On to their morning's rural work they haste,
 Among sweet dewes and flowers, where any row
 Of fruit-trees over-woody reached too far
 Their pampered boughs, and needed hands to check
 Fruitless embraces or they led the vine
 To wed her elm, she, spoused, about him twines 220
 Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
 Her dower, the adopted clusters, to adorn
 His barren leaves Them thus employed beheld
 With pity Heaven's high King, and to him called

Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deigned
To travel with Tobias, and secured
His marriage with the seven-times-wedded maid

“Raphael,” said he, “thou hear’st what stir on Earth
Satan, from Hell scaped through the darksome gulf,
Hath raised in Paradise, and how disturbed
This night the human pair, how he designs
In them at once to ruin all mankind.

Go, therefore, half this day, as friend with friend,
Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade 230
Thou find’st him from the heat of noon retired
To respite his day-labour with repast

Or with repose, and such discourse bring on
As may advise him of his happy state—

Happiness in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free

Yet mutable, whence warn him to beware
He swerve not, too secure. Tell him withal

His danger, and from whom, what enemy,
Late fallen himself from Heaven, is plotting now 240

The fall of others from like state of bliss,
By violence? no, for that shall be withstood,

But by deceit and lies This let him know, 250
Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend

Surprisal, unadmonished, unforewarned.”

So spake the Eternal Father, and fulfilled
All justice, nor delayed the winged Saint
After his charge received, but from among
Thousand celestial Ardours, where he stood
Veiled with his gorgeous wings, upspringing light, 250

Flew through the midst of Heaven, the angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all the empyreal road, till, at the gate

Of Heaven arrived, the gate self-opened wide,
On golden hinges turning, as by work
Divine the sovran Architect had framed
From hence—no cloud or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interposed, however small—he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth, and the Garden of God, with cedars crowned 260
Above all hills, as when by night the glass
Of Galileo, less assured, observes
Imagined lands and regions in the moon,
Or pilot from amidst the Cyclades
Delos or Samos first appearing kens,
A cloudy spot Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing
Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air, till, within soar 270
Of towering eagles, to all the fowls he seems
A phoenix—gazed by all, as that sole bird,
When, to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies
At once on the eastern cliff of Paradise
He lights, and to his proper shape returns,
A Seraph winged Six wings he wore, to shade
His lineaments divine the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament, the middle pair 280
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipt in heaven, the third his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
Sky-tinctured grain Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance filled

The circuit wide Straight knew him all the bands
Of Angels under watch, and to his state
And to his message high in honour rise,
For on some message high they guessed him bound 290
Their glittering tents he passed, and now is come
Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flowering odours, cassia, nard, and balm,
A wilderness of sweets, for Nature here
Wantoned as in her prime, and played at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art, enormous bliss
Him, through the spicy forest onward come,
Adam discerned, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bower, while now the mounted sun 300
Shot down direct his fervid rays, to warm
Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs,
And Eve within, due at her hour, prepared
For dinner savoury fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milky stream,
Berry or grape to whom thus Adam called
 "Haste hither, Eve, and, worth thy sight, behold
Eastward among those trees what glorious shape
Comes this way moving, seems another morn 310
Risen on mid-noon, some great behest from Heaven
To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
This day to be our guest But go with speed,
And what thy stores contain bring forth, and pour
Abundance, fit to honour and receive
Our heavenly stranger, well we may afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
From large bestowed, where Nature multiplies
Her fertile growth, and by disburdening grows

More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare" 320

To whom thus Eve "Adam, Earth's hallowed mould,
Of God inspired, small store will serve where store,
All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk,
Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes
But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and juiciest gourd, will pluck such choice
To entertain our Angel-guest, as he
Beholding shall confess that here on Earth
God hath dispensed his bounties as in Heaven" 330

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent,
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order, so contrived as not to mix
Tastes, not well joined, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste upheld with kindest change
Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields
In India East or West, or middle shore,
In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where 340
Alcinous reigned, fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough or smooth-rind, or bearded husk, or shell,
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps with unsparing hand For drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths
From many a berry, and from sweet kernels pressed
She tempers dulcet creams—nor these to hold
Wants her fit vessels pure, then strews the ground
With rose and odours from the shrub unfumed

Meanwhile our primitive great Sire, to meet
His godlike guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete

Perfections, in himself was all his state,
 More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
 On princes, when their rich retinue long
 Of horses led, and grooms besmeared with gold,
 Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape *and 21. 1-300.*
 Nearer his presence, Adam, though not awed,
 Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
 As to a superior nature, bowing low, 360
 Thus said "Native of Heaven (for other place
 None can than Heaven such glorious shape contain),
 Since, by descending from the Thrones above,
 Those happy places thou hast deigned a while
 To want, and honour these, vouchsafe with us,
 Two only, who yet by sovran gift possess
 This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
 To rest, and what the Garden choicest bears
 To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
 Be over, and the sun more cool decline." 370

Whom thus the angelic Virtue answered mild
 "Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
 Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
 As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heaven,
 To visit thee, lead on, then, where thy bower
 O'ershades, for these mid-hours, till evening rise,
 I have at will" So to the sylvan lodge *and 1-300*
 They came, that like Pomona's arbour smiled,
 With flowerets decked and fragrant smells, but Eve,
 Undecked save with herself, more lovely fair 380
 Than wood nymph, or the fairest goddess feigned
 Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove,
 Stood to entertain her guest from Heaven, no veil
 She needed, virtue-proof, no thought infirm
 Altered her cheek. On whom the Angel "Hail!"

Bestowed, the holy salutation used
Long after to blest Mary, second Eve

"Hail! Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons
Than with these various fruits the trees of God 390
Have heaped this table!" Raised of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn piled, though spring and autumn here
Danced hand-in-hand A while discourse they hold—
No fear lest dinner cool—when thus began
Our Author "Heavenly stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasured-out, descends,
To us for food and for delight hath caused 400
The Earth to yield unsavoury food, perhaps,
To spiritual natures, only this I know,
That one celestial Father gives to all"

To whom the Angel "Therefore, what he gives
(Whose praise be ever sung) to Man, in part
Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found
No ingrateful food and food alike those pure
Intelligential substances require
As doth your rational, and both contain
Within them every lower faculty 410
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
And corporeal to incorporeal turn
For know, whatever was created needs
To be sustained and fed; of elements
The grosser feeds the purer earth the sea,
Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires
Ethereal, and, as lowest, first the moon,

Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurged
Vapours not yet into her substance turned 420
Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist continent to higher orbs
The sun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimantal recompense
In humid exhalations, and at even
Supps with the ocean Though in Heaven the trees
Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines ,
Yield nectar, though from off the boughs each morn
We brush mellifluous dew, and find the ground
Covered with pearly grain, yet God hath here 430
Varied his bounty so with new delights
As may compare with Heaven, and to taste
Think not I shall be nice." So down they sat,
And to their viands fell, nor seemingly
The Angel, nor in mist—the common gloss
Of theologians—but with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate what redounds transpires
Through Spirits with ease, nor wonder, if by fire
Of sooty coal the empiric alchemist 440
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold,
As from the mine Meanwhile at table Eve
Ministered naked, and their flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crowned O innocence
Deserving Paradise! If ever, then,
Then had the Sons of God excuse to have been
Enamoured at that sight, but in those hearts
Love unlikidinous reigned, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injured lover's bell 450
Thus when with meats and drinks they had sufficed,

Not burdened nature, sudden mind arose
 In Adam not to let the occasion pass,
 Given him by this great conference, to know
 Of things above his world, and of their being
 Who dwell in Heaven, whose excellence he saw
 Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms—
 Divine effulgence—whose high power, so far
 Exceeded human, and his wary speech
 Thus to the empyreal minister he framed

460

“Inhabitant with God, now know I well
 Thy favour, in this honour done to Man,
 Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsafed
 To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
 Food not of Angels, yet accepted so,
 As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
 At Heaven’s high feasts to have fed yet what compare?”

To whom the winged Hierarch replied
 “O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
 All things proceed, and up to him return,
 If not depraved from good, created all
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,
 Endued with various forms, various degrees
 Of substance, and, in things that live, of life,
 But more refined, more spiritous and pure,
 As nearer to him placed or nearer tending,
 Each in their several active spheres assigned,
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
 Proportioned to each kind So from the root
 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves 480
 More aery, last the bright consummate flower
 Spirits odorous breathes flowers and their fruit,
 Man’s nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
 To vital spirits aspire, to animal,

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480

To intellectual, give both life and sense,
 Fancy and understanding, whence the soul
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or intuitive discourse
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same 490
 Wonder not, then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance Time may come when men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare,
 And from these corporal nutriments, perhaps,
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
 Improved by tract of time, and winged ascend
 Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
 Here or in heavenly Paradises dwell, 500
 If ye be found obedient, and retain
 Unalterably firm his love entire,
 Whose progeny you are Meanwhile enjoy
 Your fill what happiness this happy state
 Can comprehend, incapable of more"

✓ To whom the Patriarch of Mankind replied.
 "O favourable Spirit, propitious guest,
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
 Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
 From centre to circumference, whereon, 510
 In contemplation of created things,
 By steps we may ascend to God But say,
 What meant that caution joined, *If ye be found*
Obedient? Can we want obedience, then,
 To him, or possibly his love desert,
 Who formed us from the dust, and placed us here
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss

Human desires can seek or apprehend?"

To whom the Angel "Son of Heaven and Earth,
 Attend! That thou art happy, owe to God, 520
 That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,
 That is, to thy obedience, therein stand
 This was that caution given thee, be advised
 God made thee perfect, not immutable,
 And good he made thee, but to persevere
 He left it in thy power—ordained thy will
 By nature free, not over-ruled by fate
 Inextricable, or strict necessity
 Our voluntary service he requires,
 Not our necessitated, such with him 530
 Finds no acceptance, nor can find, for how
 Can hearts not free be tried whether they serve
 Willing or no, who will but what they must
 By destiny, and can no other choose?
 Myself, and all the angelic host, that stand
 In sight of God enthroned, our happy state
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds,
 On other surety none freely we serve,
 Because we freely love, as in our will
 To love or not, in this we stand or fall 540
 And some are fallen, to disobedience fallen,
 And so from Heaven to deepest Hell O fall
 From what high state of bliss into what woe!"

To whom our great Progenitor "Thy words
 Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
 Divine instructor, I have heard, than when
 Cherubic songs by night from neighbouring hills
 Aerial music send, nor knew I not
 To be, both will and deed, created free.
 Yet that we never shall forget to love 550

Our Maker, and obey him whose command
 Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts
 Assured me, and still assure, though what thou tell'st
 Hath passed in Heaven some doubt within me move,
 But more desire to hear, if thou consent,
 The full relation, which must needs be strange,
 Worthy of sacred silence to be heard
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun
 Hath finished half his journey, and scarce begins
 His other half in the great zone of heaven " 560

Thus Adam made request, and Raphael,
 After short pause assenting, thus began

"High matter thou enjoyn'st me, O prime of men,
 Sad task and hard, for how shall I relate
 To human sense the invisible exploits
 Of warring Spirits? how, without remorse,
 The ruin of so many, glorious once
 And perfect while they stood? how, last, unfold
 The secrets of another world, perhaps
 Not lawful to reveal? Yet for thy good 570
 This is dispensed, and what surmounts the reach
 Of human sense I shall delineate so,
 By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
 As may express them best—though what if Earth
 Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
 Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought!

"As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
 Reign'd where these Heavens now roll, where Earth now
 rests

Upon her centre poised, when on a day
 (For time, though in eternity, applied 580
 To motion, measures all things durable
 By present, past, and future), on such day

As Heaven's great year brings forth, the empyreal host
 Of Angels, by imperial summons called,
 Innumerable before the Almighty's throne
 Forthwith from all the ends of Heaven appeared
 Under their Hierarchs in orders bright
 Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanced,
 Standards and gonfalons, 'twixt van and rear,
 Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 590
 Of Hierarchies, of orders, and degrees,
 Or in their glittering tissues bear emblazed
 Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
 Recorded eminent Thus when in orbs
 Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
 Orb within orb, the Father Infinite,
 By whom in bliss embosomed sat the Son,
 Amidst, as from a flaming mount, whose top
 Brightness had made invisible, thus spake
 "Hear, all ye Angels, progeny of light, 600
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 Hear my decree, which unrevoked shall stand!
 This day I have begot whom I declare
 My only Son, and on this holy hill
 Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
 At my right hand, your head I him appoint,
 And by myself have sworn, to him shall bow
 All knees in Heaven, and shall confess him Lord
 Under his great vicegerent reign abide
 United as one individual soul, 610
 For ever happy Him who disobeys
 Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day,
 Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
 Into utter darkness deep engulfed, his place
 Ordained without redemption, without end.'

“So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words
All seemed well pleased, all seemed, but were not all
That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred hill,
Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere 620
Of planets and of fixed in all her wheels
Resembles nearest—mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
Then most when most irregular they seem;
And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones that God’s own ear
Listens delighted Evening now approached
(For we have also our evening and our morn,
We ours for change delectable, not need),
Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn 630
Desirous all in circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden piled
With Angels’ food, and rubied nectar flows
In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven
On flowers reposed, and with fresh flowerets crowned,
They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
Excess, before the all-bounteous King, who showered 640
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy
Now when ambrosial night, with clouds exhaled
From that high mount of God whence light and shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heaven had changed
To grateful twilight (for night comes not there
In darker veil), and roseate dews disposed
All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,
Wide over all the plain, and wider far

Than all this globous Earth in plain outspread
 (Such are the courts of God), the angelic throng, 650
 Dispersed in bands and files, their camp extend
 By living streams among the trees of life—
 Pavilions numberless and sudden reared,
 Celestial tabernacles, where they slept
 Fanned with cool winds, save those who, in their course,
 Melodious hymns about the sovran throne
 Alternate all night long But not so waked
 Satan—so call him now, his former name
 Is heard no more in Heaven He, of the first,
 If not the first Archangel, great in power, 660
 In favour, and pre-eminence, yet fraught
 With envy against the Son of God, that day
 Honoured by his great Father, and proclaimed
 Messiah, King anointed, could not bear
 Through pride that sight, and thought himself impaired
 Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
 Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
 Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolved
 With all his legions to dislodge, and leave
 Unworshipped, unobeyed, the throne supreme, 670
 Contemptuous, and, his next subordinate
 Awakening, thus to him in secret spake
 “Sleep'st thou, companion dear? what sleep can close
 Thy eyelids? and rememberest what decree,
 Of yesterday, so late hath passed the lips
 Of Heaven's Almighty? Thou to me thy thoughts
 Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont, to impart,
 Both waking we were one, how, then, can now
 Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou seest imposed
 New laws from him who reigns new minds may raise 680
 In us who serve—new counsels, to debate

What doubtful may ensue more in this place
To utter is not safe Assemble thou
Of all those myriads which we lead the chief,
Tell them that by command, ere yet dim night
Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
And all who under me their banners wave,
Homeward with flying march where we possess
The quarters of the North, there to prepare
Fit entertainment to receive our King,
The great Messiah, and his new commands,
Who speedily through all the Hierarchies
Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws'

690

"So spake the false Archangel, and infused
Bad influence into the unwary breast
Of his associate He together calls,
Or several one by one, the regent powers,
Under him regent, tells, as he was taught,
That, the Most High commanding, now ere night,
Now ere dim night had disencumbered Heaven,
The great Hierarchal standard was to move,
Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
Or taint integrity But all obeyed
The wonted signal, and superior voice
Of their great Potentate, for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven
His countenance, as the morning-star that guides
The starry flock, allured them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host
Meanwhile, the Eternal eye, whose sight discerns
Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount,
And from within the golden lamps that burn
Nightly before him, saw without their light

700

710

Rebellion rising—saw in whom, how spread
Among the Sons of Morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppose his high decree,
And, smiling, to his only Son thus said

“Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,
Nearly it now concerns us to be sure
Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
We mean to hold what anciently we claim
Of deity or empire such a foe
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious North,
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
In battle what our power is or our right
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
With speed what force is left, and all employ
In our defence, lest unawares we lose
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill’

720

730

“To whom the Son, with calm aspect and clear,
Lightening divine, ineffable, serene,
Made answer ‘Mighty Father, thou thy foes
Justly hast in derision, and secure
Laugh’st at their vain designs and tumults vain,
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
Illustrates, when they see all regal power
Given me to quell their pride, and in event
Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
Thy rebels, or be found the worst in Heaven’

740

“So spake the Son, but Satan with his powers
Far was advanced on winged speed, an host
Innumerable as the stars of night,
Or stars of morning, dew-drops which the sun
Impearls on every leaf and every flower

Regions they passed, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In their triple degrees—regions to which 750
All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this Garden is to all the earth
And all the sea, from one entire globe
Stretched into longitude, which having passed,
At length into the limits of the North
They came, and Satan to his royal seat
High on a hill, far-blazing, as a mount
Raised on a mount, with pyramids and towers
From diamond quarries hewn and rocks of gold,
The palace of great Lucifer (so call 760
That structure, in the dialect of men
Interpreted) which not long after he,
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that mount whereon
Messiah was declared in sight of Heaven,
The Mountain of the Congregation called,
For thither he assembled all his train,
Pretending so commanded to consult
About the great reception of their King,
Thither to come, and with calumnious art 770
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears
“Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
If these magnific titles yet remain
Not merely titular, since by decree
Another now hath to himself engrossed
All power, and us eclipsed under the name
Of King anointed, for whom all this haste
Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
This only to consult, how we may best,
With what may be devised of honours new, 780

Receive him coming to receive from us
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile!
 Too much to one! but double how endured—
 To one and to his image now proclaimed?
 But what if better counsels might erect
 Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke!
 Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
 The supple knee? Ye will not, if I trust
 To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
 Natives and Sons of Heaven possessed before
 By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
 Equally free, for orders and degrees
 Jar not with liberty, but well consist.
 Who can in reason, then, or right, assume
 Monarchy over such as live by right
 His equals—if in power and splendour less,
 In freedom equal? or can introduce
 Law and edict on us, who without law
 Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,
 And look for adoration, to the abuse
 Of those imperial titles which assert
 Our being ordained to govern, not to serve!

790

800

“Thus far his bold discourse without control
 Had audience, when among the Seraphim
 Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal adored
 The Deity, and divine commands obeyed,
 Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe
 The current of his fury thus opposed

“‘O argument blasphemous, false, and proud!
 Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven
 Expected, least of all from thee, ingrate,
 In place thyself so high above thy peers!
 Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn

810

The just decree of God, pronounced and sworn,
That to his only Son, by right endued
With regal sceptre, every soul in Heaven
Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
Confess him rightful King? Unjust, thou say'st,
Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,
And equal over equals to let reign, 820
One over all with unsucceeded power!
Shalt thou give law to God? shalt thou dispute
With Him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and formed the powers of Heaven
Such as he pleased, and circumscribed their being?
Yet, by experience taught, we know how good,
And of our good and of our dignity
How provident he is—how far from thought
To make us less, bent rather to exalt
Our happy state, under one head more near 830
United But to grant it thee unjust
That equal over equals monarch reign
Thyself, though great and glorious, dost thou count,
Or all angelic nature joined in one,
Equal to him, begotten Son? by whom,
As by his Word, the mighty Father made
All things, even thee, and all the Spirits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees,
Crowned them with glory, and to their glory named
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers, 840
Essential Powers, nor by his reign obscured,
But more illustrious made, since he, the head,
One of our number thus reduced becomes,
His laws our laws, all honour to him done
Returns our own Cease, then, this impious rage,
And tempt not these, but hasten to appease

The incensed Father and the incensed Son
While pardon may be found, in time besought.'

"So spake the fervent Angel, but his zeal
None seconded, as out of season judged, 850
Or singular and rash, whereat rejoiced
The Apostate, and more haughty thus replied

"That we were formed, then, say'st thou? and the work
Of secondary hands, by task transferred
From Father to his Son? Strange point and new!
Doctrine which we would know whence learned! Who saw
When this creation was? Remember'st thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now,
Know none before us, self-begot, self-raised 860
By our own quickening power, when fatal course
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
Of this our native Heaven, Ethereal Sons
Our puissance is our own, our own right hand
Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal then thou shalt behold
Whether by supplication we intend
Address, and to begirt the Almighty throne
Beseeching or besieging This report,
These tidings, carry to the anointed King, 870
And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight'

"He said, and, as the sound of waters deep,
Hoarse murmur echoed to his words applause
Through the infinite host, nor less for that
The flaming Seraph, fearless, though alone,
Encompassed round with foes, thus answered bold

"O alienate from God, O Spirit accursed,
Forsaken of all good! I see thy fall
Determined, and thy hapless crew involved

In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread 880
Both of thy crime and punishment. Henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Messiah, those indulgent laws
Will not be now vouchsafed, other decrees
Against thee are gone forth without recall,
That golden sceptre which thou didst reject
Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
Yet nor for thy advice or threats I fly
These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath 890
Impendent, raging into sudden flame,
Distinguish not for soon expect to feel
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learn,
When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know'
"So spake the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found,
Among the faithless, faithful only he,
Among innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, untterrified,
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal, 900
Nor number nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though single From amidst them forth he passed,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustained
Superior, nor of violence feared aught,
And with retorted scorn his back he turned
On those proud towers, to swift destruction doomed"

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VI

THE ARGUMENT

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his Angels. The first fight described Satan and his Powers retire under night, he calls a council, invents devilish engines, which, in the second day's fight, put Michael and his Angels to some disorder, but they at length, pulling up mountains, overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan. Yet, the tumult not so ending, God, on the third day, sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory. He, in the power of his Father, coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them, unable to resist, towards the wall of Heaven, which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep. Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

PARADISE LOST.

BOOK VI

“ALL night the dreadless Angel, unpursued,
Through Heaven’s wide champaign held his way,
till Morn,
Waked by the circling Hours, with rosy hand
Unbarred the gates of light There is a cave
Within the mount of God, fast by his throne,
Where light and darkness in perpetual round
Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through Heaven
Grateful vicissitude, like day and night,
Light issues forth, and at the other door
Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour 10
To veil the Heaven, though darkness there might well
Seem twilight here And now went forth the Morn
Such as in highest Heaven, arrayed in gold
Empyreal, from before her vanished Night,
Shot through with orient beams, when all the plain
Covered with thick embattled squadrons bright,
Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery steeds,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view
War he perceived, war in procinct, and found
Already known what he for news had thought 20
To have reported, gladly then he mixed

Among those friendly powers, who him received
With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
That of so many myriads fallen yet one,
Returned not lost On to the sacred hill
They led him high applauded, and present
Before the seat supreme, from whence a voice,
From midst a golden cloud, thus mild was heard

““Servant of God, well done! Well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintained 30
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms,
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence, for this was all thy care—
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse The easier conquest now
Remains thee—aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than scorned thou didst depart, and to subdue 40
By force who reason for their law refuse,
Right reason for their law, and for their King
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns
Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince,
And thou, in military prowess next,
Gabriel, lead forth to battle these my sons
Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints,
By thousands and by millions ranged for fight,
Equal in number to that godless crew
Rebellious, them with fire and hostile arms 50
Fearless assault, and, to the brow of Heaven
Pursuing, drive them out from God and bliss,
Into their place of punishment, the gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide

His fiery chaos to receive their fall'

"So spake the Sovran Voice, and clouds began
 To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
 In dusky wreaths reluctant flames, the sign
 Of wrath awaked, nor with less dread the loud
 Ethereal trumpet from on high gan blow 60
 At which command the powers militant
 That stood for Heaven, in mighty quadrate joined
 Of union irresistible, moved on
 In silence their bright legions, to the sound
 Of instrumental harmony, that breathed
 Heroic ardour to adventurous deeds
 Under their godlike leaders, in the cause
 Of God and his Messiah On they move,
 Indissolubly firm, nor obvious hill,
 Nor straitening vale, nor wood, nor stream, divides 70
 Their perfect ranks, for high above the ground
 Their march was, and the passive air upbore
 Their nimble tread, as when the total kind
 Of birds, in orderly array, on wing
 Came summoned over Eden to receive
 Their names of thee, so over many a tract
 Of Heaven they marched, and many a province wide,
 Tenfold the length of this terrene. At last,
 Far in the horizon to the North, appeared
 From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretched 80
 In battailous aspect, and, nearer view,
 Bristled with upright beams innumerable
 Of rigid spears, and helmets thronged, and shields
 Various, with boastful argument portrayed,
 The banded powers of Satan hasting on
 With furious expedition, for they weened
 That self-same day, by fight or by surprise,

To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud
Aspirer, but their thoughts proved fond and vain 90
In the mid way Though strange to us it seemed
At first that Angel should with Angel war,
And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in festivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire,
Hymning the Eternal Father But the shout
Of battle now began, and rushing sound
Of onset ended soon each milder thought
High in the midst, exalted as a god,
The Apostate in his sun bright chariot sat, 100
Idol of majesty divine, enclosed
With flaming Cherubim and golden shields,
Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,
A dreadful interval, and front to front
Presented stood, in terrible array
Of hideous length Before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battle ere it joined,
Satan, with vast and haughty strides advanced,
Came towering, armed in adamant and gold 110
Abdiel that sight endured not, where he stood
Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores
“‘O Heaven! that such resemblance of the Highest
Should yet remain, where faith and realty
Remain not! Wherefore should not strength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
Where boldest, though to sight unconquerable?
His puissance, trusting in the Almighty's aid,
I mean to try, whose reason I have tried 120

Unsound and false, nor is it aught but just
 That he who in debate of truth hath won
 Should win in arms, in both disputes alike
 Victor, though brutish that contest and foul,
 When reason hath to deal with force, yet so
 Most reason is that reason overcome'

"So pondering, and from his armed peers
 Forth stepping opposite, half-way he met
 His daring foe, at this prevention more
 Incensed, and thus securely him defied 130

"'Proud, art thou met? Thy hope was to have reached
 The highth of thy aspiring unopposed,
 The throne of God unguarded, and his side
 Abandoned at the terror of thy power
 Or potent tongue Fool! not to think how vain
 Against the Omnipotent to rise in arms,
 Who, out of smallest things, could without end
 Have raised incessant armies to defeat
 Thy folly, or with solitary hand,
 Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow, 140
 Unaided could have finished thee, and whelmed
 Thy legions under darkness! But thou seest
 All are not of thy train, there be who faith
 Prefer, and piety to God, though then
 To thee not visible when I alone

Seemed in thy world erroneous to dissent
 From all my sect thou seest, now learn too late
 How few sometimes may know, when thousands err'

"Whom the grand Foe, with scornful eye askance,
 Thus answered 'Ill for thee, but in wished hour 150
 Of my revenge, first sought for, thou return'st
 From flight, seditious Angel, to receive
 Thy merited reward, the first assay

Of this right hand provoked, since first that tongue,
 Inspired with contradiction, durst oppose
 A third part of the gods, in synod met ^{an ecclesiastical court}
 Their deities to assert, who, while they feel
 Vigour divine within them, can allow
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st
 Before thy fellows, ambitious to win 160
 From me some plume, that thy success may show
 Destruction to the rest This pause between
 (Unanswered lest thou boast) to let thee know—
 At first I thought that liberty and Heaven
 To heavenly souls had been all one, but now
 I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
 Ministering Spirits, trained up in feast and song
 Such hast thou armed, the minstrelsy of Heaven,
 Servility with freedom to contend,
 As both their deeds compared this day shall prove' 170
 "To whom, in brief, thus Abdiel stern replied
 'Apostate! still thou err'st, nor end wilt find
 Of erring, from the path of truth remote
 Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
 Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains,
 Or Nature God and Nature bid the same,
 When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
 Them whom he governs This is servitude,
 To serve the unwise, or him who hath rebelled
 Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee, 180
 Thyself not free, but to thyself enthralled,
 Yet lewdly dar'st our ministering upbraid
 Reign thou in Hell, thy' kingdom, let me serve
 In Heaven God ever blest, and his divine
 Behests obey, worthiest to be obeyed,
 Yet chains in Hell, not realms, expect meanwhile,

From me returned, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious crest receive'

"So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell 190
On the proud crest of Satan that no sight,
Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield,
Such ruin intercept. Ten paces huge
He back recoiled, the tenth on bended knee
His massy spear upstayed as if, on Earth,
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way,
Sidelong had pushed a mountain from his seat,
Half-sunk with all his pines Amazement seized
The rebel Thrones, but greater rage, to see
Thus foiled their mightiest, ours joy filled, and shout,
Presage of victory, and fierce desire 201
Of battle whereat Michael bid sound
The Archangel trumpet, through the vast of Heaven
It sounded, and the faithful armies rung
Hosannah to the Highest, nor stood at gaze
The adverse legions, nor less hideous joined
The horrid shock. Now storming fury rose,
And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now
Was never, arms on armour clashing brayed
Horrible discord, and the madding wheels 210
Of brazen chariots raged, dire was the noise
Of conflict, overhead the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew,
And, flying, vaulted either host with fire.
So under fiery cope together rushed *get*
Both battles main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage, all Heaven
Resounded, and, had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her centre shook. What wonder, when

Millions of fierce encountering Angels fought 220
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions? How much more of power
Army against army numberless to raise
Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
Though not destroy, their happy native seat!
Had not the Eternal King Omnipotent
From his stronghold of Heaven high overruled
And limited their might, though numbered such
As each divided legion might have seemed 230
A numerous host, in strength each armed hand
A legion, led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior single as in chief—expert
When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
Of battle, open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war No thought of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argued fear, each on himself relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory Deeds of eternal fame 240
Were done, but infinite, for wide was spread
That war, and various sometimes on firm ground
A standing fight, then, soaring on main wing,
Tormented all the air, all air seemed then
Conflicting fire Long time in even scale
The battle hung, till Satan, who that day
Prodigious power had shown, and met in arms
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confused, at length
Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and felled 250
Squadrons at once with huge two handed sway
Brandished aloft the horrid edge came down

Wide-wasting, such destruction to withstand
He hasted, and opposed the rocky orb
Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield,
A vast circumference At his approach
The great Archangel from his warlike toil
Surceased, and, glad, as hoping here to end
Intestine war in Heaven, the Arch-foe subdued
Or captive dragged in chains, with hostile frown 260
And visage all inflamed, first thus began

“‘Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
Unnamed in Heaven, now plenteous as thou seest
These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
Though heaviest, by just measure, on thyself
And thy adherents how hast thou disturbed
Heaven’s blessed peace, and into Nature brought
Misery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy rebellion! how hast thou instilled
Thy malice into thousands, once upright 270
And faithful, now proved false! But think not here
To trouble holy rest, Heaven casts thee out
From all her confines, Heaven, the seat of bliss,
Brooks not the works of violence and war
Hence, then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew! there mingle broils,
Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
Or some more sudden vengeance, winged from God,
Precipitate thee with augmented pain’ 280

“So spake the prince of Angels, to whom thus
The Adversary ‘Nor think thou with wind
Of airy threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canst not Hast thou turned the least of these
To flight—or, if to fall, but that they rise

Unvanquished—easier to transact with me
 That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
 To chase me hence? Err not that so shall end
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but we style
 The strife of glory, which we mean to win,
 Or turn this Heaven itself into the Hell
 Thou fablest, here, however, to dwell free,
 If not to reign Meanwhile, thy utmost force
 (And join him named Almighty to thy aid)
 I fly not, but have sought thee far and nigh,

290

“They ended parle, and both addressed for fight
 Unspeakable, for who, though with the tongue
 Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
 Liken on Earth conspicuous, that may lift
 Human imagination to such highth
 Stood they or moved, in stature, motion, arms,
 Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven
 Now waved their fiery swords, and in the air
 Made horrid circles, two broad suns their shields
 Blazed opposite, while Expectation stood
 In horror, from each hand with speed retired,
 Where erst was thickest fight, the angelic throng,
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind
 Of such commotion such as (to set forth
 Great things by small) if, Nature's concord broke,
 Among the constellations war were sprung,
 Two planets, rushing from aspect malign
 Of fiercest opposition, in mid sky
 Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound
 Together both, with next to almighty arm
 Uplifted imminent, one stroke they aimed
 That might determine, and not need repeat,

300

310

As not of power at once, nor odds appeared
In might or swift prevention But the sword 320
Of Michael from the armoury of God
Was given him tempered so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge it met
The sword of Satan, with steep force to smite
Descending, and in half cut sheer, nor stayed,
But, with swift wheel reverse, deep entering shared
All his right side Then Satan first knew pain,
And writhed him to and fro convolved, so sore
The griding sword with discontinuous wound
Passed through him, but the ethereal substance closed, 330
Not long divisible, and from the gash
A stream of nectarous humour issuing flowed
Sanguine, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
And all his armour stained, erewhile so bright.
Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run
By Angels many and strong, who interposed
Defence, while others bore him on their shields
Back to his chariot, where it stood retired
From off the files of war, there they him laid
Gnashing for anguish, and despite, and shame 340
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power
Yet soon he healed, for Spirits, that live throughout
Vital in every part—not, as frail Man,
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins—
Cannot but by annihilating die,
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more than can the fluid air
All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, 350
All intellect, all sense, and as they please

They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare

“Meanwhile, in other parts, like deeds deserved
Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce ensigns pierced the deep array
Of Moloch, furious king, who him defied,
And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound
Threatened, nor from the Holy One of Heaven
Refrained his tongue blasphemous, but anon, 360
Down cloven to the waist, with shattered arms
And uncouth pain fled bellowing On each wing
Uriel and Raphael his vaunting foe,
Though huge and in a rock of diamond armed,
Vanquished—Adramelech and Asmadai,
Two potent Thrones, that to be less than gods
Disdained, but meaner thoughts learned in their flight,
Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail
Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow 370
Ariel, and Arioch, and the violence
Of Ramiel, scorched and blasted, overthrew
I might relate of thousands, and their names
Eternize here on Earth, but those elect
Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven,
Seek not the praise of men the other sort,
In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
Cancelled from Heaven and sacred memory,
Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell, 380
For strength from truth divided, and from just,
Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise
And ignominy, yet to glory aspires,
Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame

Therefore eternal silence be their doom

“And now, their mightiest quelled, the battle swerved,
With many an inroad gored, deformed rout
Entered, and foul disorder, all the ground
With shivered armour strown, and on a heap
Chariot and charioteer lay overturned, 390
And fiery foaming steeds, what stood recoiled,
O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host,
Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surprised,
Then first with fear surprised and sense of pain,
Fled ignominious, to such evil brought
By sin of disobedience, till that hour
Not liable to fear, or flight, or pain
Far otherwise the inviolable Saints
In cubic phalanx firm advanced entire,
Invulnerable, impenetrably armed, 400
Such high advantages their innocence
Gave them above their foes—not to have sinned,
Not to have disobeyed, in fight they stood
Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pained
By wound, though from their place by violence moved
“Now Night her course began, and, over Heaven
Inducing darkness, grateful truce imposed,
And silence on the odious din of war,
Under her cloudy covert both retired,
Victor and vanquished. On the foughten field 410
Michael and his Angels prevalent
Encamping placed in guard their watches round,
Cherubic waving fires on the other part,
Satan with his rebellious disappeared,
Far in the dark dislodged, and, void of rest,
His potentates to council called by night,
And in the midst thus undismayed began

“O now in danger tried, now known in arms
Not to be overpowered, companions dear,
Found worthy not of liberty alone, 420
Too mean pretence, but, what we more affect,
Honour, dominion, glory, and renown,
Who have sustained one day in doubtful fight
(And if one day, why not eternal days?)
What Heaven's Lord had powerfullest to send
Against us from about his throne, and judged
Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
But proves not so then fallible, it seems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniscient thought True is, less firmly armed, 430
Some disadvantage we endured, and pain
Till now not known, but, known, as soon contemned,
Since now we find this our empyreal form
Incapable of mortal injury,
Imperishable, and, though pierced with wound,
Soon closing, and by native vigour healed
Of evil, then, so small as easy think
The remedy perhaps more valid arms,
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
May serve to better us and worse our foes, 440
Or equal what between us made the odds,
In nature none if other hidden cause
Left them superior, while we can preserve
Unhurt our minds, and understanding sound,
Due search and consultation will disclose'

“He sat, and in the assembly next upstood
Nisroch, of Principalities the prime,
As one he stood escaped from cruel fight,
Sore toiled, his riven arms to havoc hewn,
And, cloudy in aspect, thus answering spake

“‘Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as gods! yet hard
For gods, and too unequal work, we find
Against unequal arms to fight in pun,
Against unpaired, impassive, from which evil
Ruin must needs ensue, for what avails
Valour or strength, though matchless, quelled with pain,
Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine, 460
But live content, which is the calmest life,
But pain is perfect misery, the worst
Of evils, and, excessive, overturns
All patience. He who, therefore, can invent
With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Ourselves with like defence, to me deserves
No less than for deliverance what we owe’

“Whereto, with look composed, Satan replied
‘Not uninvited that, which thou aright 470
Believ’st so main to our success, I bring
Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this ethereous mould whereon we stand —
This continent of spacious Heaven, adorned
With plant, fruit, flower ambrosial, gems and gold—
Whose eye so superficially surveys
These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touched
With Heaven’s ray, and tempered, they shoot forth 480
So beauteous, opening to the ambient light?
These in their dark nativity the deep
Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame;

Which, into hollow engines long and round
Thick-rammed, at the other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
From far, with thundering noise, among our foes
Such implements of mischief as shall dash
To pieces and o'erwhelm whatever stands
Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarmed 490
The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt
Nor long shall be our labour, yet ere dawn
Effect shall end our wish Meanwhile revive,
Abandon fear, to strength and counsel joined
Think nothing hard, much less to be despaired'

"He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
Enlightened, and their languished hope revived
The invention all admired, and each how he
To be the inventor missed, so easy it seemed
Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought
Impossible Yet, haply, of thy race, 501
In future days, if malice should abound,
Some one intent on mischief, or inspired
With devilish machination, might devise
Like instrument to plague the sons of men
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent
Forthwith from council to the work they flew,
None arguing stood, innumerable hands
Were ready, in a moment up they turned
Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath 510
The originals of Nature in their crude
Conception, sulphurous and nitrous foam
They found, they mingled, and, with subtle art
Concocted and adusted, they reduced
To blackest grain, and into store conveyed
Part hidden veins digged up (nor hath this Earth

Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
 Whereof to found their engines and their balls
 Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
 Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire. 520
 So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
 Secret they finished, and in order set,
 With silent circumspection, unespied.

"Now when fair Morn orient in Heaven appeared,
 Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms
 The matin trumpet sung. in arms they stood
 Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
 Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
 Looked round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,
 Each quarter, to descry the distant foe, 530
 Where lodged, or whither fled, or if for fight,
 In motion or in halt. Him soon they met
 Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
 But firm battalion, back with speediest sail,
 Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
 Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cried

"'Arm, warriors, arm for fight! The foe at hand,
 Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
 This day, fear not his flight, so thick a cloud
 He comes, and settled in his face I see 540
 Sad resolution and secure Let each
 His adamantine coat gird well, and each
 Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orb'd shield,
 Borne even or high, for this day will pour down,
 If I conjecture aught, no drizzling shower,
 But rattling storm of arrows barbed with fire'

"So warned he them, aware themselves, and soon
 In order, quit of all impediment,
 Instant, without disturb, they took alarm,

And onward move embattled when, behold! 550
Not distant far, with heavy pace the foe
Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube
Training his devilish enginry, impaled
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
To hide the fraud At interview both stood
A while, but suddenly at head appeared
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud

“Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold,
That all may see who hate us, how we seek
Peace and composure, and with open breast 560
Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverse,
But that I doubt however, witness Heaven!
Heaven, witness thou anon! while we discharge
Freely our part Ye, who appointed stand,
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear’

“So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
Had ended, when to right and left the front
Divided, and to either flank retired, 570
Which to our eyes discovered, new and strange,
A triple mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars most they seemed,
Or hollowed bodies made of oak or fir,
With branches lopt, in wood or mountain felled),
Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gaped on us wide,
Portending hollow truce At each behind
A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipt with fire, while we, suspense, 580
Collected stood within our thoughts amused,
Not long, for sudden all, at once, their reeds

Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied
 With nicest touch Immediate in a flame,
 But soon obscured with smoke, all Heaven appeared,
 From those deep throated engines belched, whose roar
 Embowelled with outrageous noise the air,
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
 Their devilish glut, chained thunderbolts and hail
 Of iron globes, which, on the victor host 590
 Levelled, with such impetuous fury smote,
 That whom they hit none on their feet might stand,
 Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
 By thousands, Angel on Archangel rolled,
 The sooner for their arms unarmed, they might
 Have easily, as Spirits, evaded swift
 By quick contraction or remove, but now
 Foul dissipation followed, and forced rout,
 Nor served it to relax their serried files
 What should they do? If on they rushed, repulse 600
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow
 Doubled, would render them yet more despised,
 And to their foes a laughter, for in view
 Stood ranked of Seraphim another row,
 In posture to displode their second tire
 Of thunder, back defeated to return
 They worse abhorred Satan beheld their plight,
 And to his mates thus in derision called
 "O friends, why come not on these victors proud?
 Erewhile they fierce were coming, and when we, 610
 To entertain them fair with open front
 And breast (what could we more?), propounded terms
 Of composition, straight they changed their minds,
 Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
 As they would dance yet for a dance they seemed

Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offered peace. But I suppose,
If our proposals once again were heard,
We should compel them to a quick result.'

"To whom thus Belial, in like gamesome mood 620
'Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urged home,
Such as we might perceive amused them all,
And stumbled many who receives them right
Had need from head to foot well understand,
Not understood, this gift they have besides,
They show us when our foes walk not upright'

"So they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing, highthened in their thoughts beyond
All doubt of victory, Eternal Might 630
To match with their inventions they presumed
So easy, and of his thunder made a scorn,
And all his host derided, while they stood
A while in trouble but they stood not long,
Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose.
Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
Which God hath in his mighty Angels placed !)
Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
(For Earth hath this variety from Heaven 640
Of pleasure situate in hill and dale)
Light as the lightning-glumpse they ran, they flew,
From their foundations loosening to and fro,
They plucked the seated hills, with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
Uplifting bore them in their hands Amaze,
Be sure, and terror seized the rebel host,
When coming towards them so dread they saw

The bottom of the mountains upward turned ,
Till on those cursed engines' triple row 650
They saw them whelmed, and all their confidence
Under the weight of mountains buried deep ,
Themselves invaded next, and on their heads
Main promontories flung, which in the air
Came shadowing, and oppressed whole legions armed
Their armour helped their harm, crushed in and bruised
Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind
Out of such prison, though Spirits of purest light, 660
Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown
The rest, in imitation, to like arms
Betook them, and the neighbouring hills uptore ,
So hills amid the air encountered hills,
Hurled to and fro with jaculation dire,
That underground they fought in dismal shade ,
Infernal noise! war seemed a civil game
To this uproar , horrid confusion heaped
Upon confusion rose And now all Heaven
Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread, 670
Had not the Almighty Father, where he sits
Shrined in his sanctuary of Heaven secure,
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
This tumult, and permitted all, advised,
That his great purpose he might so fulfil,
To honour his anointed Son, avenged
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All power on him transferred whence to his Son,
The assessor of his throne, he thus began
“ ‘Effulgence of my glory, Son beloved, 680
Son in whose face invisible is beheld

Visibly, what by Deity I am,
And in whose hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence! two days are passed,
Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven,
Since Michael and his powers went forth to tame
These disobedient Sore hath been their fight,
As likeliest was when two such foes met armed,
For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st,
Equal in their creation they were formed, 690
Save what sin hath impaired—which yet hath wrought
Insensibly, for I suspend their doom
Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
Endless, and no solution will be found
War wearied hath performed what war can do,
And to disordered rage let loose the reins,
With mountains, as with weapons, armed, which makes
Wild work in Heaven, and dangerous to the main
Two days are, therefore, passed, the third is thine
For thee I have ordained it, and thus far 700
Have suffered, that the glory may be thine
Of ending this great war, since none but thou
Can end it. Into thee such virtue and grace
Immense I have transfused, that all may know
In Heaven and Hell thy power above compare,
And this perverse commotion governed thus,
To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
Of all things—to be Heir and to be King
By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
Go, then, thou Mightiest, in thy Father's might, 710
Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heaven's basis, bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh,

Pursue these Sons of Darkness, drive them out
 From all Heaven's bounds into the utter deep,
 There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
 God and Messiah his anointed King'

"He said, and on his Son with rays direct
 Shone full, he all his Father full expressed 720
 Ineffably into his face received,

And thus the Filial Godhead answering spake

"O Father, O Supreme of Heavenly Thrones,
 First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st
 To glorify thy Son, I always thee,

As is most just This I my glory account,
 My exaltation, and my whole delight,
 That thou in me well pleased declar'st thy will
 Fulfilled, which to fulfil is all my bliss

Sceptre and power, thy giving, I assume, 730

And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
 Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee

For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st
 But whom thou hat'st I hate, and can put on
 Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,

Image of thee in all things, and shall soon,
 Armed with thy might, rid Heaven of these rebelled,
 To their prepared ill mansion driven down,

To chains of darkness and the undying worm,
 That from thy just obedience could revolt, 740

Whom to obey is happiness entire

Then shall thy Saints, unmixed, and from the impure
 Far separate, circling thy holy mount,

Unfeigned halleluiahs to thee sing,
 Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief'

"So said, he, o'er his sceptre bowing, rose
 From the right hand of Glory where he sat,

And the third sacred morn began to shine,
Dawning through Heaven Forth rushed with whirlwind
sound

The chariot of Paternal Deity, 750

Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel, undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit, but convoyed
By four Cherubic shapes Four faces each
Had wondrous, as with stars, their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels
Of beryl, and careering fires between,
Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure
Amber and colours of the showery arch
He, in celestial panoply all armed 760

Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Ascended, at his right hand Victory
Sat eagle-winged, beside him hung his bow
And quiver with three bolted thunder stored;
And from about him fierce effusion rolled
Of smoke, and bickering flame, and sparkles dire.
Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
He onward came, far off his coming shone,
And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God, half on each hand, were seen 770

He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
On the crystalline sky, in sapphire throned,
Illustrious far and wide, but by his own
First seen, them unexpected joy surprised
When the great ensign of Messiah blazed
Aloft by Angels borne, his sign in Heaven,
Under whose conduct Michael soon reduced
His army, circumfused on either wing,
Under their Head embodied all in one

Before him Power Divine his way prepared , 780
 At his command the uprooted hills retired
 Each to his place , they heard his voice , and went
 Obsequious , Heaven his wonted face renewed,
 And with fresh flowerets hill and valley smiled.

“This saw his hapless foes, but stood obdured,
 And to rebellious fight rallied their powers,
 Insensate, hope conceiving from despair
 In Heavenly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?
 But to convince the proud what signs avail,
 Or wonders move the obdurate to relent? 790
 They, hardened more by what might most reclaim,
 Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
 Took envy, and, aspiring to his highth,
 Stood re-embattled fierce, by force or fraud
 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail
 Against God and Messiah, or to fall
 In universal ruin last, and now
 To final battle drew, disdaining flight,
 Or faint retreat when the great Son of God
 To all his host on either hand thus spake 800

“Stand still in bright array, ye Saints , here stand,
 Ye Angels armed , this day from battle rest.
 Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
 Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause ,
 And as ye have received, so have ye done,
 Invincibly But of this cursed crew
 The punishment to other hand belongs ,
 Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:
 Number to this day's work is not ordained,
 Nor multitude , stand only and behold 810
 God's indignation on these godless poured
 By me , not you, but me, they have despised,

Yet envied, against me is all their rage,
Because the Father, to whom in Heaven supreme
Kingdom and power and glory appertains,
Hath honoured me, according to his will
Therefore to me their doom he hath assigned,
That they may have their wish, to try with me
In battle which the stronger proves—they all,
Or I alone against them, since by strength
They measure all, of other excellence
Not emulous, nor care who them excels,
Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe'

820

"So spake the Son, and into terror changed
His countenance, too severe to be beheld,
And full of wrath bent on his enemies
At once the Four spread out their starry wings
With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot rolled, as with the sound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.

830

He on his impious foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as night, under his burning wheels
The sterdfast Empyrean shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God Full soon
Among them he arrived, in his right hand
Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues, they, astonished, all resistance lost,
All courage, down their idle weapons dropt,
O'er shields, and helms, and helmed heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,
That wished the mountains now might be again
Thrown on them, as a shelter from his ire
Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold visaged Four,

840

Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels,
Distinct alike with multitude of eyes,
One spirit in them ruled, and every eye
Glared lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
Among the accursed, that withered all their strength, 850
And of their wonted vigour left them drained,
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checked
His thunder in mid-volley, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven
The overthrown he raised, and, as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together thronged,
Drove them before him thunderstruck, pursued
With terrors and with furies to the bounds
And crystal wall of Heaven, which, opening wide, 860
Rolled inward, and a spacious gap disclosed
Into the wasteful deep The monstrous sight
Strook them with horror backward, but far worse
Urged them behind, headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of Heaven, eternal wrath
Burned after them to the bottomless pit.

“Hell heard the unsufferable noise, Hell saw
Heaven ruining from Heaven, and would have fled 870
Affrighted, but strict Fate had cast too deep
Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound
Nine days they fell, confounded Chaos roared,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
Encumbered him with ruin Hell at last,
Yawning, received them whole, and on them closed,
Hell, their fit habitation, fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain
Disburdened Heaven rejoiced, and soon repaired

Her mural breach, returning whence it rolled
Sole victor, from the expulsion of his foes 880
Messiah his triumphal chariot turned
To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanced, and as they went,
Shaded with branching palm, each order bright
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
Worthiest to reign He, celebrated, rode
Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the courts
And temple of his mighty Father throned 890
On high, who into glory him received,
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss
“Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things on Earth,
At thy request, and that thou may'st beware
By what is past, to thee I have revealed
What might have else to human race been hid,
The discord which befell, and war in Heaven
Among the angelic powers, and the deep fall
Of those too high aspiring, who rebelled
With Satan he who envies now thy state, 900
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee also from obedience, that, with him
Bereaved of happiness, thou may'st partake
His punishment, eternal misery,
Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite done against the Most High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe
But listen not to his temptations, warn
Thy weaker, let it profit thee to have heard,
By terrible example, the reward 910
Of disobedience Firm they might have stood,
Yet fell, remember, and fear to transgress”

NOTES.

Abbreviations —

M = Milton, or Milton's Poetry, as distinguished from his prose

G = Glossary

Other books of *Paradise Lost* are indicated by Roman numerals, thus, in the first note, 'VII 373' signifies book VII, line 373

BOOK V.

1 Contrast *Lyc* 187, "the still Morn went out with sandals gray," and "the gray dawn," in VII 373—4 'Gray' and 'rosy' (cf Vergil's *lutea Aurora*) are traditional epithets for the morning—"gray" describing its earlier stages, 'rosy' the later when the sun rises.

2 *sowed*, the metaphor of scattering corn See VII 358 Spenser speaks of the sky "All sowed with glstring stars," *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie orient pearl*=dew, see 746—7 Shakespeare often likens moisture—especially tears—to pearl, cf *Luciae* 1213, 1553 *orient*, lustrous, see G

3—5 i.e. his sleep was not the heavy drowsiness that clouds the brain with its vapours after intemperate eating See I\ 1047

5—6 See VI. 249, note *which*, sleep *the only*, the single, 'only the sound' *fuming*, with the stream that rises in early morning, see 186 For the lit use of *fume*, cf VII 600, "clouds fuming from golden censers" Now the word is generally figurative—"to be angry"

Aurora's fan, referring to *leaves* Roughly, he means that the wind which ushers in the dawn (cf *S A* 10—11, "The breath of heaven fresh blowing with day spring born") stirs the leaves as a fan might, and their rustling helps to waken Adam See 655

16 i.e. mild as the west wind ("that breathes the spring," *L'Al* 18) passing over a bank of flowers. Flora, the goddess of flowers, symbolises the flower world, as in *P' R' II* 365. Her association with Zephyrus is a poetic convention, cf. Garth's *Dispensary*, 1699, "Where Flora treads, her Zephyr garlands flings, And scatters odours from his purple wings" (cf. the last line with *I* 286).

17—25 Keightley cites the *Song of Solomon*, ii 10—13. Cf. too the lines "Wake now, my love, awake!" etc. in Spenser's *Epithal*.

21 *prime*, daybreak, early part of the day.

22 *tended*, so the First Ed., but in many texts (as Dr Bradshaw notes) it has been corrupted into *tender*—a peculiarly stupid change in view of passages like *IV* 438, "To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers," and *IX* 206, "still to tend plant, herb, and flower" *blous*, i.e. blooms, see *G*.

23 *balmy reed*, i.e. balm (=balsam, etymologically), cf. "corny reed"=corn, *III* 321. *drops*, myrrh and balm (though *M* here regards them as shrubs) are aromatic resins, of much the same nature, produced by the balsam tree (*Βαλσαμίδενδρον*) and other trees of the same genus. Cf. *IX* 248, "Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm," and *Othello*, *I* 2, 348—50, "whose subdued eyes Drop tears as fast as the Arabian trees Their medicinal gum." See 292, 293, note. (The perfume myrrh is to be distinguished from the resin, it is thought to have been distilled from a kind of rock-roses.)

30 In *IV* 799 *et seq.* we learn how in the night the Cherubs Ithuriel and Zephon found Satan (in the form of a toad)

"Close at the ear of Eve,

Assaying by his devilish art to reach

The organs of her fancy, and with them forge

Illusions as he list, phantasms, and dreams."

It is to these that she here alludes. The abruptness of the sentences expresses her agitation.

35—93 Belinda's vision in the first canto of the *Rape of the Lock* is an amusing but by no means "respectful perversion" of Eve's dream.

39—41 i.e. the nightingale, the poet's favourite bird, as many allusions show. Cf. his first *Sonnet*, *Com* 234—5, *II Pen* 61—4, *IV* 601—3, *VII* 435—6, and the fifth *Elegy* 25—6. No doubt, the garden of his father's house at Horton (cf. *II Pen* 49—50) was a haunt of the bird (which except in this passage he makes feminine). Thomson, *Spring*, speaks of the "love taught song" of birds, remembering perhaps Spenser, *Epithal* 88 ("love learned song").

43, 44 Contrast IV 657 *et seq*, where Eve says, "wherefore all night long shine these (the stars)? for whom This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?" To which Adam replies that there are "millions of spiritual creatures" on earth, unseen by men, and that they behold and praise God's works by night as by day

50—91 Cf the very similar passage in IX 494—833

52 *interdicted*, forbidden; cf VII 46

54—7 It is implied that the figure which appeared was that of Satan, cf III. 636—44 where, to deceive Uriel, he puts on the form of a Cherub, winged and with flowing locks—as here

56, 57 Almost a paraphrase of Vergil, *Æn* I 403, *Ambrosiaque comæ divinum vertice odorem Spiravere* ambrosia, fragrance, see G

58 *surcharged*, overladen, Fr *surchargé*, cf XII 373, S A 728

60 *god*, i.e. angelic being, so in 70 and 117 In the *Christian Doct* V, M explains why he applies the word 'god' to angels

61 i.e. is it envy (cf Satan's words in IX 729—30) or some reservation, restraint, that keeps you from being tasted?

66 *vouched*, made good with, confirmed by, cf *Hen V* v 1 77, "and dare not avouch in your deeds any of your words"

67 *he thus*, i.e. spoke

71—3 See 318—320, note

77, 78 Cf IX 706—10 The illusion is to *Gen* III 5, "your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Gods" Lines 78—9 are the appropriate motto of Wordsworth's poem, "Devotional Incitements"

79 *in the air* Satan (see 54—7, note) speaks as "prince of air" (XII 454) In *P R* I 39—46 he addresses his followers as "ancient powers of air," and in *P R* II 117, "the middle region of thick air" is their council chamber The idea can be traced to *Ephes* II 2

84—6 Cf the scene of the Temptation in IX 739—41

"Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and waked

An eager appetite, raised by the smell

So savoury of that fruit"

In XI 517—19, Michael warns Adam against "ungoverned appetite," that having been the main cause of Eve's sin

91 i.e. I found that he was gone, the sense connects *wondering* (89) with *I* (91) In the First and Second Eds the punctuation is peculiar there is a colon after 'various' and a semicolon after 'exaltation' Perhaps by isolating the clause thus M intended an abruptness of speech corresponding to the surprise which Eve felt when she found herself alone

94 *sad*, seriously, see G

98 *uncouth*, strange, see G

99 *harbour*, dwell "if any rest can harbour there," I 185

101-4. 'Fancy' was then often used in the sense now commonly given to 'imagination,' M makes 'Fancy' the loftier faculty of the two, cf VIII 461, where he terms it "internal sight," i.e. the highest power of conceiving mentally that which is not present to the eye
next, viz. to Reason *represent*, i.e. present, give representations of

106, 107 *frames*, i.e. frames into what we affirm etc.

115 *our last evening's talk*, related in IV 411-39, where Adam reminds Eve of the prohibition not to taste of the tree of knowledge

118 *so*, i.e. as in your case evil, he says, if unapproved (by Reason) in the way Eve has described, leaves no blame. Keightley explains *so*=provided that it be. Todd prints *unimproved*

123 *wont*, i.e. are wont, see G

133 *each their* A frequent idiom in M, cf VII 453, "Each in their kind," and XI 889, "Corrupting each their way" In Elizabethan E *each* could be used as a plural word; cf *Coriolanus* III 2 44, "Tell me what each by the other lose"

crystal sluice Cf Shak, *Venus and A* 956-7, "She vail'd her eyelids, who, like *sluices*, stopt The *crystal* tide" (i.e. of tears—as here)
sluice, see G

137 *arborous roof* There is a beautiful description of their bower in IV 690-710

139 *day-spring*, dawn, day break, so in VI 521, and *S A* II Cf *Luke* I 78, "the day spring from on high," and *Job* xxxviii 12 in the A V and also in Coverdale's version (1535), "Haste thou shewed the daye springe his place?"

141, 142 Cf IV 539-43, *Com* 98, 99 *landskip*, see G

144, 145 Cf I 197-9 *orisons*, prayers, see G

147 *nor wanted they*, nor did they lack, cf 514

149 We must observe the strong emphasis on "unmeditated," and the repetition of "various" in 146—unmistakeable hints at the poet's "preference of extemporary prayer over set forms" (Keightley) In *Eikonoklastes*, chap xxv he sneers at the use of a "service-book" His poems are full of these covert attacks on the Church Cf XII 533-5 (depreciating the ceremonial aspects of worship) Such controversial matter seems ill suited to the dignity of an epic

150 *numerous*, melodious, see G

151 It is worth while to remember that the lute, now obsolete,

orb, but the 1 orb flies, that is, moves round with the utmost rapidity" (Newton) *orb* = sphere, *M* treats the terms as interchangeable.

177 *3c f^{re}*, i.e. the planets, "wandering fire" is partly a translation of the Gk *πλανήτης*, a wanderer, from *πλανᾶσθαι*, to wander—whence *planet*. Cf Drummond of Hawthornden, "may planets wander o'er no lard but thine," *Entertainment of King Charles* (1633), and *Forth Flouting* (1617), "Of everturning heavens the restless course, Their fixed eyes (cf l 176), their lights which wand'ring run"

f^{re} He has already mentioned the Sun, Moon (then reckoned planets—see *4f^{ter}*) and Venus (166—170) hence only four planets remain—Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Possibly *M* by a mere error said 'five' instead of 'four' (which Bentley read), but I think that he intended to include Venus again. In ll 166—170 he addressed the planet emphatically under its special aspect as the Morning star, giving this particular manifestation of it an individuality apart from that of *Venus* considered generally as one of the seven planets. The Earth can scarcely be taken as making up the five, since not (as Masson notes) till VIII 128—30 does Adam learn that it may possibly be a planet.

178 The metaphor in "dance" (cf 620) is Milton's favourite means of suggesting the motions of stellar bodies, cf III 579, 580, "they (constellations) move their starr dance," and IX 103, "Terrestrial heaven danced round by other heavens." Shak. also applies "dance" (the vb) to the heavenly bodies—apparently to suggest their quivering light, cf *Much Ado*, II 1 349. Cf too Shelley, "I sang of the dancing stars," *Hymn of Apollo*.

song i.e. "sphere music", cf 625—7. Perhaps the most elaborate account of this idea in the classics is that given in the Myth of Er, bk X of the *Republic*. Plato there says that on each of the spheres—he recognises eight—"stands a siren, who travels round with the circle (i.e. revolution), uttering one note in one tone, and from all the eight notes there results a single harmony." See *Arc* 61—73 where *M* has adapted Plato's words (which are quoted at length in my note there, p. 59), and recalled Lorenzo's speech in the *Merchant of Venice* 60—65. Other references in *M* are *At a Solemn Music*, Com. 241, 1021, and in Shak., *Twelfth Night*, III 1 121, *Antony*, v 2 84, *As You Like It*, II 7 6.

According to tradition, Pythagoras was the only man who ever heard this music, cf. Milton's treatise *De Sphaerarum Conventu—solus inter mortales concentum audisse fertur Pythagoras*. Plato explains

that the music is inaudible because continuous, we should hear it if there were a break. M (following the *Merchant of V* v 64, 65) offers elsewhere a purely moral view—that sin has deadened the human senses, once so keen. Cf *Ant* 72, 73, "the heavenly tune which none can hear Of human mould with gross unpurged ear," and the *Nat Ode*, 125, 126, "ye crystal Spheres, *Once* bless our human ears" (i.e. for this once). Here, *before* the Fall, Adam and Eve possess the power which through their sin humanity lost.

180 The four elements were air, earth, water and fire, and of them all existing things were supposed to consist. M refers to the idea often, cf 415—18, III 715, "The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire," and *Il Pen* 96 (note). Among many illustrations in Shak cf *Antony*, I 2 192, *Julius C* I 3 73, *Twelfth Night*, II 3 10.

181—3 *That in quaternions run* "That in a fourfold [Lat *quatuor*=four] mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another"—Newton, who shows that here and later, II 415—8, M is thinking of Cic. *de Nat Deorum*, II 33—*cum quatuor sint genera corporum, necessitudine eorum mundi continuata natura est. His, ex quibus omnia constant, sursus, deorsus, ultra, extra comin cantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur*. The lines 180—183 should be compared with II 910—16.

189 *in coloured*, i.e. having a single colour, unvariegated.

191 *advance*, raise aloft, the metaphor explained at I 588. Cf *S A* 410, "[I have] advanced his praises high."

193, 194 Cf Thomson, *A Hymn*, "Ye forests bend, ye harvests wave, to Him."

198 Cf *Cymbeline*, II 3 21, "the lark at heaven's gate sings," and *Sonnet* 29, "Like to the lark at break of day arising From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate." But Shak 'conveyed' the idea from a song in Lyly's play, *Campaspe*, where the lark "at heaven's gate clips her wings." Had Bentley remembered any one of these passages he would scarce have suggested the ridiculous change—"That soaring up to Heavenward ascend."

202—4 *witness*, bear witness. *I my song*. Bentley read *we our song*, and some other editors find the singular inappropriate, since Eve joined in the hymn. Pearce thought that M was following the practice of Greek dramatists with whom "sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used" in the choruses (cf the choruses of *S A passim*). Perhaps, after all, M only means that each of the worshippers speaks for himself.

212—14. Cf IV 625—9, 18 209—19 *pampered*, too luxuriant Newton aptly observed that *pamper* used to be connected with Lat *pampinus*, a vine leaf, and M may have accepted the etymology (which is still to be found in some modern eds) Really *pamper* is of Old Low Germ origin, being a nasalised form of the word which we get in *pap*, food for children, Skeat mentions a Low Germ vb *slampampen*, to live daintily (*Principles*, 1st Series, 489)

215—219 Alluding to the pretty classical fancy of the vine being wedded to (because trained to grow up) the elm, cf Horace, *Od* IV 5 30, *Epod* II 9, 10, Vergil, *G* II 367 M in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 65, speaks of the *Innuba uva*, and in *Of Reformation* writes, "I am not of opinion to think the Church a vine in this respect, because, as they take it, she cannot subsist without clasping about the elm of worldly strength," *P IV* II 380 Cf Fairfax's *Tasso*, III 76, "The married elm fell with his fruitful vine"

221—3 There is the same allusion in IV 168—171 to the story of Tobias and his victory over Asmodeus (one of the evil angels who had shared Satan's expulsion from Heaven—see VI 365, *P R* II 151) as told in the Apocryphal book of *Tobit* Tobias had been sent on a journey by his father Tobit to fetch ten talents of silver which the latter had deposited with a friend "at Rages a city of Media," Raphael appeared to him in human form and acted as his guide, i.e. "deigned to travel with Tobias" And the angel bade Tobias marry a Jewish maiden, Sara, who lived at Ecbatana in Media Her seven husbands had been destroyed in succession by the evil spirit Asmodeus who was in love with her To escape their fate Tobias was instructed by Raphael to burn the heart and liver of a fish, since the smell would drive away the spirit This he did after his betrothal to Sara, and the plan succeeded for Asmodeus "fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him" (chap. VIII.)

221 Cf VII 41, "Raphael, The affable archangel," and VI 234, where Adam says that Michael is not "sociably mild, as Raphael" The name means "Divine Healer," or "Health of God" Note that Raphael and Michael (who in bks VI and VI is entrusted with high duties by the Almighty) are archangels, and cf Spenser's statement that among the heavenly beings it is the "Archangels which attend On God's owne person, without rest or end," *Heavenly Beautie* Reginald Scot in his *Discourse of Devils*, 1584, says, "As for archangels, they are sent onelie about great and secret matters" (chap. V), and Thomas Heywood in the *Hierarchie of the blessed Angels* (1635),

"The Arch-Angels are Embassadors, great matters to declare," p 194
M is conversant with these traditional beliefs

230 *what*, i.e. whatsoever, as often in M

235 *left free*, qualifying *him* understood from "in *his* power"

238 *secure*, it implies a false feeling of security, see G

244 *pretend*, plead as an excuse

248 i.e. after the receipt of his charge (command, office); cf *Com* 48, "After the Tuscan mariners transformed," and *S A* 1433, "after his message told" It is an imitation of the Latin idiom in phrases like *post conditam urbem* M also uses it with *since*, e.g. in I 573, "never, since created man," i.e. since the creation of man, *post hominem creatum* So perhaps Shak, *All's Well*, II 1 6

249 *Arcturus*, i.e. Seraphim, see *Seraphim* in G

257—9 i.e. no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight—an absolute construction *however small*, qualifying *star*, but some connect it with *Earth* in 260 *not unconform to*, like to

261—3 Cf the well known passage in I 287—91

"like the moon, whose orb

Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views

At evening, from the top of Fesolè,

Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,

Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe,"

"the Tuscan artist" being, of course, the great Italian astronomer, Galileo M had met him in Italy, as he tells us in the *Arcopagitica*—"There it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought," *P W* II 82 A similar but indirect reference occurs in III 588—90

261 *the glass*, i.e. the telescope, which Galileo had developed, though he can not be said to have invented it M calls it the "optic glass" (I 288), and "optic tube" (III 590) I find the phrase "optické glasse" in Henry More's *Song of the Soul*, p 212 (Cambridge ed 1647), and in Giles Fletcher's *Christ's Victorie on Earth*, 60

262 *less assured*, less certain Galileo died in 1642, "glass of Galileo" is only a general term for the instrument associated with his name Cf Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 778, "This Partridge soon shall view in cloudless skies, When next he looks thro' Galileo's eyes"

264—6 He has just said that the earth, as it appeared from afar to the angel, resembled the regions in the moon as they appear to an astronomer, now he compares it to the dim speck in the distance

which the pilot perceives when first he comes within sight of an island Strictly, Delos was, and Samos was not, one of the group of islands in the *Ægean* called 'Cyclades.' The lines as they stand in the First Ed have no commas Some editors place a comma before "kens," making "cloudy spot" the accus and taking "Delos appearing" as an absolute construction It seems to me preferable to make "Delos or Samos" the object after "kens"—with "cloudy spot" in apposition

269, 70 *fan winnows* The metaphor of separating grain from the chaff, cf *Isa* xxx 24, "provender, which hath been winnowed with the shovel and with the fan" *Fan* is from Lat. *vannus*, whence also *van* = a wing, used by M twice, cf II 927, "his sail broad vans He spreads for flight," and *P R* IV 583, "plumy vans" Is it possible that M dictated *van* here? The metaphor would be the same. *winnows* = parts, cleaves, cf Thomson, *Spring*, "their self taught wings Winnow the waving element" (i e the air) For *buxom* = yielding, see G "Buxom air" (cf II 842, "wing silently the buxom air") is, as Keightley noted, a reminiscence of Horace's *pete cedentem aera disco* (*Sat* II 2 13), which, I may add, M had previously imitated in his Latin Poem, *In Quantum Novembris*, 208, *pennis cedentes remigat auras* Cf Spenser, *F Q* I II 37, "therewith scourge the buxome aire"

270—4 Cf Fairfax, *Tasso*, XVII 35—6

"As when the new born Phoenix doth begin
To fly to Ethiopie ward, at the fair bent
Of her rich wings, strange plumes and feathers thin,
Her crowns and chains, with native gold besprent,
The world amazed stands, and with her fly
An host of wond'ring birds, that sing, and cry
So past Armida, look't on, gaz'd on so"

271 *touring*, alluding (cf XI 185) to their lofty flight

272—4 Most accounts describe the Phoenix as a solitary bird, living "in the Arabian woods" (*S A* 1700) for 500 years (so say Herodotus and Ovid, *Met* XV 395), at the end of that time (but Pliny who also tells the story—*Nat Hist* X 2—gives the period as exactly 509 years), "when hee (the bird) groweth old, and begins to decay, he builds himselfe a nest with the twigs and branches of the Canell or Cinamon, and Frankincense trees and when hee hath filled it with all sort of sweet aromaticall spices, yeldeth up his life thereupon of his bones and marrow there breedeth at first as it were a little worme which afterwards proveth to be a pretie bird" (Phlemon Holland's *Pliny*, 1601, vol I p 271) And the first thing that thus

"pretty bird" does is to collect the reliques of its former body (i.e. the aforesaid "bones and marrow"), and carry them away to the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis in Lower Egypt. M. however says at Thebes, meaning the famous city of that name in Upper Egypt, which he calls 'Egyptian' to distinguish it from the Boeotian town. Why he should prefer Thebes to Heliopolis does not appear, probably he is following some version of the legend—and there are many—which has not been traced. There is a famous application of the myth in *S. A.* 1699—1705

273 *gazed by all*, i.e. *gazed on*, it is often a trans. vb. in M., cf. viii 248, "I turned And gazed awhile the ample sky." No doubt, what attracted the attention of the other birds was the astonishingly fine plumage of the Phoenix—his body *ceruleum fulgens* (as M. writes in the *Egyptiolum* 188), his tail white, his neck and head golden. Cf. Spenser, *Visions of Petrarch*, "I saw a Phoenix in the wood alone, With purple wings, and crest of golden hewe." The splendour of Raphael's wings (also cerulean) caused him to be mistaken for a Phoenix.

sole bird. Only one Phoenix lived at a time, *unica semper avis*, vii 5, Ovid, *Amor* ii 6 54, and M. imitates him in the *Egyptiolum* 187 (*Phoenix unica terris*). Cf. *S. A.* 1701, and Lyly's *Euphues*, "as there is but one Phoenix in the world, so there is but one tree in Arabia, wherein she buildeth," and Fairfax, *Tasso*, xvii 20, "happy Arabe where the sole Phoenix doth revive."

276, 277 i.e. "he seemed again, what he really was, 'a seraph winged,' whereas in his flight he appeared, what he was not, a Phoenix" (Newton).

277, 278 Suggested, obviously, by *Isai* vi 2, "Above it stood the seraphim: each one had six wings, with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly." M. has varied this account in certain details, borrowing something from the description of the Cherubim in *Ezek* i and x. *Lineaments*, his limbs generally, not merely the features of his face. So in vii 477

280 *with regal ornament*. This shows that the colour of the first pair was purple, cf. vi 241—3, "purple worn by kings." So Gray (*Hymn to Adversity*) speaks of "purple tyrants," i.e. 'born to the purple,' as the phrase is. Cf. too Pope, *Essay on Crit.* ii "like a clown in regal purple dressed." The contrast between the first and second pairs of wings, i.e. between purple and gold, is a favourite with M., see iv 296, 763—4, vii 479, ix 429, and cf. Shelley, "plumes of purple grain Starred with drops of golden rain," *Lines written among the Luganean Hills*.

283 i.e. colours brilliant as the lustrous hues of heaven, the reference to gold suggests that the rich hues of sunset are meant. Note the effect of putting the gold in the middle, so as to throw into relief the colours on either side. Pope arrayed the Sylphs in the *Rape of the Lock* in robes "Dipt in the richest tincture of the skies." See XI. 244.

283—5 What hue is here intended? Dr Masson says violet—Dr Bradshaw, purple. But why should M. repeat the colour already used for the first pair? I believe that light blue is meant—in fact, the colour technically called 'sky blue.' This would suit the sense of *grain* (see G.), and it adds to the variety of the whole picture.

mail, coat of mail, armour. *Sky tinctured*, cf. *Com* 83, "sky robes, spun out of Iris' wool" (i.e. out of the rainbow). For *tinctured* = dyed, cf. "vermilion-tinctured," *Com* 752.

285—7 *Mars's son*, Hermes (or Mercury), son of Zeus and Maia—the winged messenger of the gods. Probably M. is thinking of *Æn* IV. 222 *et seq.* where Mercury is sent by Jupiter to bid Aeneas leave Carthage. The point of the simile lies in the fact that Mercury was typical of grace and beauty. So in the *Masque of Oberon* Jonson makes a character say that *Oberon* ("Beauty dwells but in *his* face") surpasses even Mercury, whereon Jonson's footnote comments, "Mercury was called the giver of grace, χαριδότης, φαιδρὸς καὶ λερκός." Some of Milton's readers would bethink them of the Jacobean Masque stage, on which the god was a favourite character. These lines (285—7) would exactly describe the opening scene of Carew's famous *Calum Britannicum* (known almost certainly to M.—see *Com* p. 75, note), and I doubt not that the heavenly herald "shook his plumes" in Jonson's *Penates*. For a similar episode, equally suggestive of the Masque literature, which had evidently affected M. strongly, cf. the descent of Perce in the *Vat. Ode*, 45—52 (with the note there).

288, 289 i.e. rise in honour to his *state* (=stately bearing).

292, 293 The plants are often mentioned together—no doubt, from their association in Scripture. Cf. *1x* 629, *Com* 991 ("Nard and cassia's balmy smells"). The cassia spoken of in the Bible was a spice of the nature of cinnamon, cf. Cotgrave, "*Casse aromatique* the aromaticall wood, bark, or bastard cinnamon." Cassia is now used of an extract of laurel bark. The nard or spikenard (i.e. spiked nard, *nardus sp. catus*) of Scripture (*Mark* XIV. 3, *John* XII. 3) was a fragrant Indian root. The epithet 'Ἰνδικός is often applied to it. The word came from the Sanskrit *nal*, to smell. Probably the Jews got the perfume and its name through the Persians.

295—7 In the First Ed the lines read

“and plaid at will
Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wilde above rule or art; enormous bliss”

With this punctuation the words “enormous bliss” are in apposition to the previous sentence, and “pouring” is intrans. It appears to me a defensible text, but all editors place a comma after “art,” and make “bliss” the object after “pouring” *more sweet, more sweetly* (i.e. than now) *enormous*, out of all rule (Lat. *norma*, rule), see G

299 “And the Lord appeared unto him (Abraham) in the plains of Mamre and he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day,” *Gen* viii 1, the whole chapter is in Milton’s thoughts here where he describes Adam’s entertainment of Raphael

302 *needs*, so the Second Ed, *need* in First

306, 307 *milky* So in *S A* 550 “clear milky juice” is a periphrasis for fresh water. Perhaps in each case *milky*=sweet as milk. Dryton (*Polyolbion* xiii 171) speaks of “milch dew,” where he seems to mean ‘sweet’ or ‘fragrant’. See note on *S A* 550 (Pitt Press ed) *berry, or grape*, see 344—6

311 *behest*, commandment, see vi 185

312 *vouchsafe*, spelt *voutsafe*, in First Ed, as always in M, see G

316—8 *afford*, grant, give *large bestow*, i.e. give freely of that which has been given to us so freely

318—20 Here, as in ll 71—3, M remembers *Com* 706—47, where the magician argues that we should enjoy Nature’s gifts and ‘disburden’ her of them else will she be “surcharged with her own weight, And strangled with her waste fertility”

321, 322 *inspired*, i.e. filled with “the breath of life” (*Gen* ii 7) The name *Adam* is said to signify ‘red earth’

322—5, i.e. she has only stored (cf. “what thy stores contain,” 314) or put away such things as are best kept awhile, for the rest, the trees and plants supply their daily wants. In l 322 *store* is used in two senses “small store” means “small storing,” cf. 324, but “where store hangs” means where “abundance hangs” *store*, see G

326 *brake*, used by M as a collective term for shrubs and bushes (i.e. such as yield currants) set close together, cf. iv 175

327 *gourd*, i.e. melons of various sorts *choice*, used passively—‘that which is chosen,’ cf. 333, vi 101

328 *as he*, that he, *as*=‘that’ is common in Elizabethan E

334—6 The punctuation of the First and Second Eds (which I

have retained) seems to show that the sense is—'tastes which are inelegant *if* not well joined.' Some take 'inelegant' adverbially—'not to mix inelegantly tastes which are not well joined' Either way, cf IX 1017—8, "exact of taste, And elegant" *bring*, i.e. to bring—dependent on *contrived* one taste is to induce another *kindest*, most natural, cf "the kindly fruits of the earth" (*The Litany*)

338—41 He supposes the garden of Eden to produce the fruits for which in after times different parts of the world were famous, and, as usual, he selects places round the names of which cluster literary (especially classical) associations

339 *middle shore*, i.e. between the East and West Indies, the countries on the seaboard of the Mediterranean are meant

340 Cf *P R* II 347 *Pontus*, in the N E region of Asia Minor, on the coast of the Euxine or Black Sea, was noted for its fruit and nut trees From the town of Cerasus the cherry is said to have been introduced into Europe, together with its name (cf Gk *κέρασος*) In Philemon Holland's *Pliny* (1601) we find, "Filberds and Hazels also are a kind of nut They came out of Pontus into Natolia and Greece, and therefore they be called Ponticke nuts These Filberds are covered with a soft bearded (cf. l 342) huske," vol I p 446 *Punic coast*, i.e. Africa, more particularly Carthage, it was remarkable for at least one kind of fruit, as the anecdote of Cato and the figs reminds us Cf Holland's *Pliny*, "touching the Affricane Figs, many men prefer [them] before all others," I 442

340, 341 Alcinous was the king of the Phæacians, a fabulous race whom Homer places in the island of Scheria (afterwards identified with Corcyra, now Corfu—whence Corcyra was called by Roman poets *Phæacia tellus*, but probably Scheria was quite mythical) He entertained Odysseus, and Homer describes his palace and gardens at length M refers in two other passages to those books (VI—XIII) of the *Odyssey* in which Odysseus stays "where Alcinous reigned", cf the *Vac Ex* 48—52 (alluding to *Od* VIII), and IX 439—42, "Spot more delicious than those gardens feigned Or of revived Adonis, or renowned Alcinous, host of old Laertes' son" See also his third *Elegy*, 43, 44, *Non dea tam variis ornavit floribus hortos Alcinoi Chloris*

342 *rined*, some texts (including Todd's) print *rind* (i.e. the noun)—a palpable blunder The First and Second Eds read *rin'd*, and M meant it to be a participial adj., "having a smooth rind" I think that we may fairly hyphen the words and make a compound 'smooth rined,' on the analogy of 'smooth ditted' in *Com* 86, 'smooth shaven' in *II*

Pen 66, 'smooth haired' in *Com* 716 For the form *rined*, not *rinded*, see G It seems to me best to make the adj qualify *coat bearded*, i.e. like corn, cf *IV* 982, and the quotation from Holland, *supra*, I 340

345 See 307, and cf *Com* 46—7, "Bacchus, that first from out the purple grape Crushed the sweet poison of misused wine" *must*, new wine, Lat *mustum* Cf *Faerie Q* VII 7 39, "the must which he was treading in the wine fats" (i.e. vats) *inoffensive*, not intoxicating *meaths*, sweet beverages, see G

347, 348 *temper*, mixes *nor wants*, nor are there lacking For the sing vb, cf *Taming of the Shrew*, III 2 248, "bride and bridegroom wants For to supply the places" The construction seems to be due to a combination of the personal use of *want* (which here would be plural) and the impersonal, which is singular = 'there wants,' "An abundance of impersonal verbs is a mark of an early stage in a language. There are many more impersonal verbs in Elizabethan than in modern English" (Abbott, *Gram* p 208)

349 *unfumed*, qualifying *odours* or *shrub* the fragrances are natural, not produced by any artificial process of fuming or burning

354—7 One of those passing touches in which M reveals his republicanism and dislike of ostentation

355, 356 Scan *retinue*, as in *P R* II 419, "What followers, what retinue canst thou gain?" So in Tennyson's *Guinevere*, "far ahead Of his and her retinue moving," and *Aylmer's Field*, "The dark retinue reverencing death" Cf *revenue* in Shak, e.g. in *Hamlet*, III 2 63 *bismeread*, cf Horace's *aurum vestibus illitum* (*Odes*, IV 9 14)—Hume

360 Cf III 736—8 "bowing low, As to superior spirits is wont in Heaven, Where honour due and reverence none neglects" Cf Adam's meeting with Michael in XI 249, and 296—8

361 *for*, the clause gives the reason why Adam has addressed the angel as "Native of Heaven" Cf *Arc* 26, 27, "Stay, gentle Swains, *for*, though in this disguise, I see bright honour sparkle through your eyes"—where "for I see etc" explains why they have been called "gentle," i.e. well born Cf also X 460—2

365 *want*, i.e. do without, resign

371 *Virtue*, see 587, note The word must not be pressed, as in *P L* Raphael is an archangel (cf VII 41) Heywood in his *Hierarchie* (1635) ranks Raphael among the Powers (*ἐξουσίαι*)

372 *therefore*, for that purpose

374 *though*, i.e. even

377 *have at will*, i.e. to spend as I like

378 *Pomona*, the Roman goddess of fruit (Lat *ponium*), she "might well be supposed to have a delightful arbour" (Newton)

381, 382 Alluding to the *judicium Paridis* The three goddesses, Hera, Athena and Aphrodite, each claimed the golden apple inscribed with the words "to the fairest" which Eris (Strife) had thrown among the guests at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis. The matter was referred to the shepherd Paris (afterwards the lover of Helen), who decided in favour of Aphrodite—"the fairest goddess signed." Perhaps to many readers the story is most familiar through Tennyson's *Oenone*.

382 *Ida*, the "many fountained" mountain (*πολυπίδαξ* "Ida, *Hind* viii 47) in Mysia, Asia Minor. Spenser speaks of Paris as "The Shepherd of Ida that judged beauties Queene," *Shep Cal August*.

384 *virtue-proof*, strong in virtue. Commonly in these compounds *proof* implies being strong, not *in* a thing but, *against* it. Thus in *Love's L. L. v 2 513*, *shame-proof*=strong against, i.e. impenetrable to, shame, and in *Arc 89*, "branching elm star-proof" means that the leaves are so dense that the star light cannot penetrate.

385—7 "And the angel came in unto her, and said, Hail, thou that art highly favoured, blessed art thou among women," *Luke 1 28*. Cf *P R II 66—68*, where the Virgin herself speaks—"Oh, what avails me now that salute, 'Hail, highly favoured among women blest!'" *second Lte*, so Christ is "the last Adam," *1 Cor xi 45*.

388 Cf *vi 159*, "Eve, rightly called mother of all mankind."

393, 394 *her*, the tables, he avoids using *its* all autumn piled, i.e. all the produce of the autumn *is* piled, *it* can easily be understood from 392.

394, 395 i.e. the different charms of spring and autumn (as we know them) were then united in one continuous season. Cf *iv 266—8*, where, anticipating the metaphor of this passage, he tells us that in Eden "universal Pan, Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance, Led on the eternal spring." Contrast "all seasons" in 323.

405—7 *spiritual*, qualifying *man*. We hear of "angels' food," *Ps lxxviii 25*. See 633.

409 *as doth*. Dr Masson remarks, "'doth' where we should now say 'do,'—a relic of the older grammar," but the singular verb is required, 'substance' (not 'substances') being understood from l 408.

409—13 Cf the *Christian Doct vii*, "spirit being the more excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one (i.e. body), as the spiritual and rational faculty contains the corporeal," *P IV iv 180*. The drift of Milton's thought becomes clearer

when we read ll 470 *et seq*, where he dwells upon what he conceives to be the radical connection between matter and spirit

412 *concoct*, digest, see G

415—8 See ll 180—3, and cf again Cic *de Nat Deorum* ii 33 *ex terra aqua, ex aqua oritur aër, ex aëre aether, deinde retrorsum vicissim ex aethere aër, inde aqua, ex aqua terra infima*

419, 420 M regards the spots in the moon as vapours not entirely assimilated to her substance, and therefore visible against their luminous background So in VIII 145 he compares them to clouds A somewhat similar notion is found in Pliny, cf Philemon Holland's trans, "Now that planets are fed doubtlesse with earthly moisture, it is evident by the Moone which so long as she appeareth by the halfe in sight, never sheweth any spots, because as yet she hath not her full power of light sufficient, to draw humour unto her For these spots be nothing els but the dregs of the earth, caught up with other moisture among the vapors" (1601 ed vol II p 7) The true explanation of the spots is that they are unevennesses on the surface of the moon caused by mountains and valleys, and it seems as if this view were really known to M—cf the passage (already cited, 261—3, note) in I 287 *et seq* .

425, 426 It was a poetic fancy that the sun rises from and sets in the sea, cf *Com* 95—7

427, 428 See 652, note *ambrosial*, see G The introduction of nectar (cf 633) was doubtless due to its classical associations as the drink of the gods There are occasions when Milton's classical touches seem a little out of harmony with the Scriptural character of his theme Instances of this confusion of effect are very marked in *Lycidas*

429 A recollection of *Arc* 50, "[I] from the boughs brush off the evil dew" Everyone will recall Gray's "Brushing with hasty steps the dew away," *Elegy*, 99 The emphatic word is 'mellifluous' the dews of Eden are of no common kind

430 *pearly grain*, manna, c *Exod* xvi 14

433 *mce*, dainty, fastidious, see G

434—6 i.e. the angel did actually eat—not merely appear to eat, as theologians explain in such cases Bishop Newton remarks—"Several of the Fathers and ancient Doctors were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so, and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the book of *Tobit*, xii 19, 'All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision'" (We have already had an allusion to the book of *Tobit* in ll 221—3, Keightley

notes that it was evidently a favourite with M, and I doubt not that he was here glancing at the verse cited by Newton)

435 *gloss*, interpretation (see G), viz of passages like *Gen* xix 3

438 *what redounds*, i.e. all that is redundant, not assimilated

439—443 Cf *Of Reformation*, "Their trade being, by alchemy to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the people's sins," *P IV* II 403 It would be scarcely fair to infer from these passages whether M did, or did not, believe in the transmutation of metals Cf the reference to the Philosopher's Stone in III 600, 601 The point of the present comparison is that—"as by means of the heat produced by coal, the alchemist can drive off the grosser particles and leave the pure gold remaining, so the internal heat of the angelic body drives off through the pores the innutritious particles of the food" (Keightley).

440—2 *empiric*, experimenting, Gk *ἐμπειρικὸς* Used with some notion of contempt='quack,' cf *Of Reformation*, "Did he go about to pitch down his court, as an empiric does his bank, to inveigle in all the money of the country," *P IV* II 376 *alchemist*, see G *drossiest*, full of impurities, *dross* is the scum that rises to the surface when metals are cast Cf Spenser, *F Q* II 7 36, "Some scum'd the drosse that from the metall came" Minshew (1617) has, "Drosse, or scumme of metall *escume de metal*" *ore*, metal in its raw, unrefined state, cf cognate Germ *erz*, Lat *æs*

444, 445 *flowing cups* is Shakespearian, cf *Hen V* IV 3, 55, "Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd," and *Othello*, II 3, 60 *crowned*, brimming, a reminiscence of Homer's *κητήρας ἐπικελεύαντο ποταῖο* (to which Vergil gave a fresh turn in his *cratera coronant* -G II 528) Cf Dryden, *Æn* III 455, "golden bowls with sparkling wine were crowned," and 688, "My sire Anchises crowned a cup with wine" (where, however, *corona* is used literally of the chaplet of flowers)

447 *Sons of God* The phrase (from *Gen* vi 2) has been taken to mean either the angels or the pious descendants of Seth Here (and in *P R* II 178) M adopts the former view, but in XI 621—2, the other Josephus, *Antiq* I III 1, makes "sons of God" = angelic beings

460 *framed*, it implies care, skill, cf "wary" in I 459

467 i.e. what comparison can there be between Heaven's feasts and this? *compare* as noun is not uncommon in Shakspeare "sweet above compare," *Venus*, 8 See VI 705

468 *Hierarch*, member of the Hierarchies (see 487), i.e. 'heavenly being,' used once elsewhere, XI 220 (of Michael)

469 *et seq* One of the passages in which (cf *Introduction*, p xvi) the treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as explaining Milton's philosophical and theological views Chapter VII treats "Of the Creation," and he expounds at great length his conception of the "one first matter" His views, as admirably summarised by Dr Masson, amount to this—"that all created Being, whether called soul or body, consists of but one primordial matter, a direct efflux from the very substance of the Eternal and Infinite Spirit that there are graduated varieties or sorts of this first material efflux from Deity, all radically one, but differentiated into an ascending series of forms, from the *inorganic* as the lowest, up to the *vegetable*, thence to the *animal*, thence to the *human*, and so to the *angelic*, or nearest in nature to the Divine original" This passage in fact gives us what Adam afterwards (l 509) calls "the scale of nature"

471 *created all*, i.e. all things created such (namely *good*) to a perfect degree, and all made of one first original matter Cf. the *Christian Doct* VII, "For the original is not to be looked upon as an evil or trivial thing, but as intrinsically good, and the chief productive stock of every subsequent good" The influence of these lines is very marked in the *Essay on Man* I, cf especially ll 233—246, and the great passage, "All are but parts of one stupendous whole etc"

477 *assigned*, qualifying *spheres*, for the order, cf VI 249

478 This idea (cf 497) of body refining into spirit (i.e. of matter passing from a lower to a higher stage) is very characteristic of Milton Cf *Com* 459—63

"Till oft converse with heavenly habitants

Begin to cast a beam on the outward shape,

The unpolluted temple of the mind,

And turns it by degrees to the soul's essence,

Till all be made immortal"

In the same speech he passes to the converse idea that, as the body by self discipline may become soul, the soul by self indulgence may become body, "the soul imbodyes, and imbrutes" (467, 468) Cf again IX. 166, "This essence to incarnate and imbrute!" See VI 660, 661 Newton thinks that the whole idea was suggested by the Scriptural doctrine (cf 1 *Cor* xv) of a natural body changed into a spiritual—which is likely enough, perhaps also the influence of Plato is to be traced (cf the notes to *Com* pp 137, 138)

482 Some texts print "spirits odorous," a most offensive rhythm,

whereas to take the first two feet as trochees gives a perfectly Miltonic effect—"spirits | oddür'ous" etc

483 *scale*, ladder, Lat. *scala*, cf 509, and vi 656 Pope speaks of the continuity of Nature, "Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroyed," *E on Man*, i 244 Cf also Thomson, *Spring*, "who knows, how raised to higher life, From stage to stage, the vital scale ascends?" *sublimed*, raised, the metaphor (as in i 235) is probably from the science of chemistry, in which to 'sublime' is to 'raise or elevate by heat' Cf Bacon, "Metals are sublimed by joining them with mercury or salts" Cf the chemical term 'sublimate.'

487-93. This contrast between *intuition* and *discourse* (in its old sense) occurs often *intuition*, as its derivation (Lat *intueri*, to look into) implies, being the faculty of seeing into things straightway and apprehending truth *without* any process of reasoning *discourse*, the lower faculty of understanding things *with* the help of reasoning processes M naturally assigns the higher power to the angels, so in the *Christian Doct* ix he says that they understand by means of "revelation" *discourse*, *discursive*, see G

489, 490 *the latter*, intuition *kind*, species, sort

493 *propter*, i.e. my own, Lat *proprius*

499 "Angels are spirits they are of ethereal nature," *Christian Doct* vii The underlying doctrine (taught by many of the Fathers) is that Adam, had he not sinned, would have been translated to Heaven.

504 *your fill*, i.e. enjoy to your fill

514 *want*, lack, fail in, cf 147

524-34 A discourse on free will and predestination, similar to that in iii 96-128 It is one of the subjects whereof the fallen angels dispute in ii 555-61, and of course M treats it at great length in the *Christian Doct*, P IV iv 43-77

535 Cf. the *Christian Doct* iii, "in assigning the gift of free will, God suffered both men and angels to stand or fall at their own uncontrolled choice"

537 *while*, used with emphasis—"so long as"

538 i.e. on no other surety, in these cases *none*, from its peculiar position, always expresses emphasis Cf vi 612

539 *as in*, i.e. it being in our will to

543 *from what into what* An antithetic turn of phrase used by M more than once Cf i 91, 92, and P R ii 30, 31, "from what high hope to what relapse are we fallen!"

546-8 Cf the allusion to "celestial voices" in iv 680-88

554 *move*, subjunctive with *though*

556, 557 *relation*, report, account "hee loues men better upon relation then experience," Earle's *Characters*, p 58 Cf *Tempest*, v 164, "a chronicle of day by day, Not a relation for a breakfast." Richardson noted the Horatian reminiscence (*Odes* II 13 29, 30) in l 557—*Utrumque sacro digna silentio Mirantur umbra dicere*

563 We may compare the long episodical description that follows of the expulsion of the apostate angels from Heaven with Æneas' narrative of the fall of Troy and of his subsequent fortunes Æneas' monologue occupies two books (II, III) of the *Æneid*, Raphael is briefer, his narrative closes at l 892 of bk VI Milton was bound to describe these events, and he appropriately lays the description in the mouth of one who had taken part in them The obvious danger that besets a passage of this kind in which we are lifted from earth to Heaven is, that the poet may seem to materialise and degrade things spiritual and supernatural by delineating them under imagery and in language associated with things corporal and earthly M warns us of this difficulty at the outset (ll 571—574), and hints that after all earth may be but a symbol of Heaven—an idea which under various forms has occurred to many thinkers

566 *remorse*, pity

571 *dispensed*, granted, allowed. *reach*, capacity, "we of wisdom and of reach," *Hamlet*, II I 64

577—9 See *Appendix*, and cf II 1002—5

578. *these Heavens*, i.e. the sky above them, not the upper Heaven or Empyrean in which the Deity dwells (Masson)

579 See VI 218, 219, and cf VII 242, "And earth, self balanced, on her centre hung" In each passage there is an allusion to Ovid's account of the earth hanging *ponderibus librata suis* (*Met* I 13) So Pope, *Temple of Fame*, "In air self balanced hung the globe below"

579—82 M refers to the definition of 'Time as the measure of motion,' cf Aristot *Phys* IV II 219, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον and *Phys* VIII I 251, ἐλ δὲ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος κινήσεως ἀριθμὸς ἢ κινήσεως τις The same idea had occurred in Plato, *Timæus* 37 D—39 D Milton's purpose in ll 580—82 is to justify his introduction of the notion of Time in the word *day*, 579 for that which he is describing took place *before* the creation of the universe whereas, says Plato, "*days and nights and months and years were not before the universe was created*" he (the Deity) devised the generation of them along with the fashioning of the universe,"

Timæus 37 D, and again, "Time then has come into being along with the universe"—*χρόνος δ' οὖν μετ' οὐρανοῦ γέγονεν*, *Timæus* 38 B It would be impossible to discuss the matter—we can only note that M dissents from Plato—both here and in the *Christian Doct* VII, where (in a passage uncited by any editor of *P L*) he writes, "There is no sufficient foundation for the common opinion that motion and time (which is the measure of motion) could not, according to the ratio of priority and subsequence, have existed before this world was made"

582 by past and future, i.e. by the standard of—or, in relation to, cf Aristotle's *κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον*, and the extract in italics from the *Christian Doct* VII

583 great year He has borrowed Plato's conception of the *Annus Magnus*. This was the vast period (estimated by Mr Adam in his pamphlet on the *Nuptial Number of Plato* to be 36,000 years) at the close of which the heavenly spheres, having completed their several revolutions, come back to the position whence they started Cf the passage from Censorinus quoted by Mr Newman, *Politics of Aristotle* 1 576, *Est præterea annus quem solis lunæ vagarumque quinque stellarum orbes conficiunt, cum ad idem signum, ubi quondam simul fuerunt, una referuntur* Cf too Heywood's *Hierarchy* (1635), p 147

"There is a yeare, that in Times large progresse

Is *Annus Magnus* call'd

in this 'tis sayd,

The Stars and Planets, howsoever sway'd,

Be they or fixt, or wandring, in this yeare

Returne to their first state, and then appeare

In their owne Orbs, unwearied, and instated

As fresh and new as when at first created"

M conceives some such cycles to have existed "in eternity," and the close of one of them to have been marked by the event of which he proceeds to speak There is a glance at the same thought in 861—2

587 According to a medæval belief the heavenly beings were divided into three Hierarchies, and each Hierarchy was subdivided into three Orders or Choirs These Orders comprised the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones (*θρόνοι*), forming the first Hierarchy, Dominations (*κυριότητες*), Virtues (*δυνάμεις*), and Powers (*ἐξουσίαι*), forming the second, Principalities (*ἀρχαί*), Archangels and Angels, forming the third This system was deduced, in the main, from St Paul's words in *Ephes* 1 21 and *Colos* 1 16 First formulated in the treatise *περὶ τῆς*

οὐρανίας λεπάλλας, which was long attributed, though falsely, to Dionysius, the Arcopagite, the notion had great influence in the Middle Ages, cf Dante, *Paradise*, XVIII 98—126 M accepted it, cf I 737, "Each in his Hierarchy, the Orders bright," and *Church Gov* I 1, "Yet, the angels themselves are distinguished into their celestial principdoms, satrapies," *P. W.* II 442 There are countless similar references throughout *P. L.*, cf II 371, 468, 601, 749—750, 772, 840

588 *advanced*, uplifted, cf I 536, "The imperial ensign full high advanced" It was the term for raising a standard, cf *Roméo*, I 3 96, "death's pale flag is not advanced there"—imitated by Giles Fletcher, "Death doeth his flag advance" (Grosart, p 97)

589 *gonfalons*, flags, ensigns, see G

592—4 1 c on the standards are portrayed scenes illustrative of zeal or love *tissues*, see G and cf Pope, "Thin glittering textures of the filmy dew," *Rape of the Lock* *emblazed* is the heraldic term, we should say *emblazoned* Cf the description in I 538 of Satan's ensign "rich emblazed," and 2 *Hen VI* IV 10 76, "wear it as a herald's coat, To emblaze the honour that thy master got"

594 *orbs*, circles, cf. Pope, *Dunciad*, IV 79, 80, "Not closer, orb in orb, conglobed are seen The buzzing bees" So *Rape of the Lock*, II, "Some, orb in orb, around the nymph extend"

597, 598 *in bliss*, cf VI 892 *embosomed*, cf *John* i 18, "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father" M has the same allusion in III 239 and 279 Cf too Spenser, *Hymn of Heavenly Love*, "Out of the bosome of eternall blisse, In which he reigned with his glorious syre, He downe descended" *flaming mount*, see 643

599 Cf III 380, "Dark with excessive bright"

600 *progeny of light* Cf III 3, "God is light"

602—7 Upon the peculiar theological bearing of this passage it would, I think, be out of place to comment, but we may note that many texts of Scripture are alluded to Cf *Ps* II 6, 7 ("Yet have I set my King upon my holy hill of Zion Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee"), *Ps* cx 1 ("The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand"), *Ephes* iv 15 ("the head, even Christ"), *Gen* xxii 16 ("By myself have I sworn, saith the Lord"—repeated in *Isai* xlv 23), *Philp* II 10, 11, *Heb* I 5 "Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confined himself to the phrases and expressions of Scripture" (Newton)

605 *anointed* 'Messiah' means 'anointed'

610 *individual*, in the lit sense 'not to be divided' = inseparable.

So Adam called Eve "in individual solace dear," iv 466 M uses *dividual*=separable or separate in vii 382, vii 85

613, 614. *vision*, revelation, see G *utter darkness*, cf. i. 72, iii 16 *utter*=outer, see G

618 *solemn*, holy or festival days Lat *solemnis*

620—7 Alluding again to the music of the spheres, see 178. note He compares the rhythmic movements of the angels to the revolutions ("wheels") of the planets and fixed stars See II 176 and 178

623 *eccentric*, used three times by M—here and in iii 575, viii 83, in each case there is a reference to its astronomical sense Applied to the heavenly bodies *eccentric* signifies 'moving in an orb that deviates from a circle,' i.e. it connotes motion which is not strictly circular Here the "mystical dance" does not describe true circles

624 *then when* A form of emphasis constantly used by M, cf. 894—5, ix 838, 970 ("Then, when I am thy captive, tall of charms,") xi 253, 515—516 So Pope, *Essay on Crit* II, "Then most our trouble still when most admired" Similarly we find *there where*

627 *now*, not in the First Ld, inserted in Second

631—5 *in circles*, see 163 *Angels' feet* See 403—7, note The First Ld has *Angels' Feet*, some texts absurdly print *Angels' rubied nectar*, i.e. Homer's *κλεαίη ποτὶρ* *rubied*=red as rubies, in S A 543 "dancing ruby" is said of sparkling wine *deliciæ nectis*, cf. 427, 428

637—641 In the First Ld the passage reads thus

"They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet

Are fill'd, before th' all bounteous King, who shew'd

With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy "

It will be seen that the Second Ld has three additional lines The word 'refection' (refreshment) is not used elsewhere by M

637, 638 *communion*, we are reminded of the doctrine of the 'Communion of Saints' Cf. the 'fellowships of joy' in xi 80, and the "sweet societies" of *Lyc* 179 Newton noted the allusion in 638 to Ps xxxvi 8, 9, "thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures For with thee is the fountain of life "

642 *ambrosial*, fragrant, an epithet of nighl in *Iliad* II 57 (Hume) *exhaled*, breathed forth, Keightley connects it with 'clouds,' but I think that vii 255 shows that it belongs to 'night'

643—5 See vi 4—8, note, and cf. vii 584—6, 'the holy mount Of Heaven's high seated top, the imperial throne Of Godhead.' The "high mount of God" (cf. vi 5) is, I suppose, identical with what M in the *Christian Doct* vii calls 'the highest heaven as it were the

supreme citadel and habitation of God " He cites the texts upon which he has based this conception—among them being 1 *Kings* viii 27 ("Behold, the heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain thee"), and *Isai* lvi 15 ("I dwell in the high and holy place")

645 *night comes not there* See 162, and cf *Rev* xxi 25, "there shall be no night there" (in the Heavenly Jerusalem) So Spenser, *Heavenly Love*, "darknesse there appeareth never none" (in Heaven)

646—7 *dew*, used, I suppose, figuratively (though Keightley takes it in the lit sense), as when Shak speaks of "the golden dew of sleep," *Rich III* iv 1 84 Cf iv 614—16, "the timely dew of sleep, Now falling with soft slumbrous weight, inclines Our eyelids" See note (Pitt Press ed) on *Il Pen* 146 ("the dewy feathered sleep")

unsleeping "Behold, he that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep," *Ps* cxli 4 The same is said of Zeus, *Iliad* ii 1

652 Alluding to the "pure river of water of life" (xvii 1), with "living fountains of waters" (vii 17), mentioned in the *Revelation*, "on either side of the river was there the tree of life" (xxii 2) Cf iii 357—59, xi 79, *Lyc* 174, and the Sonnet, *The Religious Memory*, 14 We may remember Vergil's description (*Æn* vi 673—5) of the lives of the blessed in Elysium, "In groves we live, and lie on mossy beds By crystal streams, that murmur through the meads" (Dryden)

653, 654 *pavilions*, tents (see G), *tabernacles* having the same sense, from Lat *tabernaculum*, a dimin of *taberna*, a shed or hut. *Tabernaculum* is used in the Vulgate of the tent that sheltered the Ark, whence it passed into the Authorised Version

655 *in their course* Is he thinking of the Temple service, and the division of offices among the Levites? Cf 1 *Chron* xxvii 1

657 *alternate*, sing in turns, or sing responsively Cf iv 682—4, where Adam speaks of the celestial voices he hears at night "responsive each to other's note, Singing their great Creator" *not so*, i.e. he was awake, but not for the same purpose, *so* is emphatic

658, 659 *Satan* = 'adversary,' cf i 81, 82, "the arch enemy, And thence in Heaven called Satan" *his former name*, what this was we are not told, because, as M says in i 361—3, the names which the apostate angels had before their fall were "blotted out and razed," so that there might be no memorial of them Cf vi 373 *et seq*

of the first Cf *Of Divorce*, "a city for learning and constancy in the true faith honourable among the first," *P IV* iii 279 The idiom is something like the Gk *ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι* See *Appendix*

661 *fraught with*, full of, cf the cognate Germ *fracht*, cargo

665 *impaired*, perhaps 'made unequal,' inferior, Lat *infer* Cf.
vi 691

671 *his next subordinate*, Beelzebub, described in i 79 as "next in power, and next in crime" to Satan See also ii 299, 300 In the scene (vi) in Marlowe's *Dr Faustus* in which Lucifer and Beelzebub appear, the former announcing himself to Faustus says, "I am Lucifer, And this is my *companion* prince in hell," cf "companion dear" in i 673 Very likely, M 1 new Marlowe's play, cf i 254, 255, iv 20—23 and 75—78 with *Dr Faustus* iii 75—77, v 119—121

674 *and rememberest*, i.e. though remembering, cf ii 730

684 *the chief*, i.e. *chiefs* (which Bentley read)

686 *I am to*, it is my duty to, cf. 701

688, 689 *homeward the North*, cf 726, 755 See the *Argument* of the bk According to some systems of demonology the four quarters of the world were assigned to four angels prior to the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven Commonly Lucifer was made monarch of the north—in allusion to *Isa* xiv 12, 13, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning For thou hast said in thine heart I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north" But the systems varied, thus Dr Ward in his ed. of *Dr Faustus* notes (p 117) that in the old 'Faust book' it is Beelzebub who rules in the north, in *Septentrione*, while Lucifer rules in *Oriente*—cf the title "prince of the East" applied to him by Marlowe (*Faustus* v 104) Now Satan (identified by M with Lucifer) here addresses Beelzebub (cf 671), and M may purposely have made him use the plural *we*, so as to imply that the northern quarter was as much the home of Beelzebub as of his superior Be this as it may, the general reference to the north as the dominion of evil spirits might be illustrated from many sources Greene in *Friar Bacon* speaks of a demon Asmenoth as "guider of the north" (ix 144), and "ruler of the north" (xi 109) Cf i *Hen VI* v 3 6 In the *Appendix* added in 1665 to Scot's *Discourse of Devils* there are similar references—e.g. in chap viii, "Luridan is a Familiar Domestick Spirit of the North, who is now become servant to Balkin, Lord and King of the Northern Mountains" (p 485, Nicholson's ed.), and again in chap ix, "These are the names [mentioning them] of *Olympick Angels*, governing the North, and ruling over every Airy Spirit that belongs unto the Northern Climate," p 487 Dr Cheyne remarks that there was "a mysterious sanctity attaching to the north," and that we have indications of this in *Levit* i 11, *Ezek* i 4, *Job* xxxvii. 22 (*Prophetes of Isaiah*, 3rd ed i 92) It has been

suggested that M intended the passage as a sneer at Scotland, the headquarters of Presbyterianism, to which he was bitterly hostile (see *S A* pp 124, 125, Pitt Press ed), but the notion is fanciful

689—91 "He begins his revolt with a he So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture, *John* viii 44, 'he is a liar, and the father of it'" (Newton) See 853, note

695 *influence*, see G

697 *several*, separately, but it is the adj —Lat *separabilis*

702, 703 *suggested*, i.e. by Satan, ll 685—91 *ambiguous words*, hints of disloyalty, cf *Æn* II 98, *hinc spargere voces ambiguas*. For the obedience which his followers pay to Satan, cf I 331 *et seq*

708 Alluding to his subsequent title 'Lucifer' = day star

710 See *Rev* xii 4 Cf vi 156 and II 692, where Death asks Satan whether he is the traitor angel who "in proud rebellious arms Drew after him the third part of Heaven's sons," also Spenser, *Hymne of Heavenly Love*, "The brightest Angell (i.e. Lucifer) Drew millions more against their God to fight" In ix 141, 142 Satan boasts that his followers were "well nigh half the angels" The number of the rebels was a point on which the School-men disputed much

713, 714 "And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne," *Rev* ix 5. When M speaks of Heaven his language, as we have seen, is full of reminiscences of the *Revelation*

716, 717 Cf *Nat Ode*, 119, "But when of old the Sons of Morn'g sung" The phrase is from *Isai* xiv 12, quoted *supra* *banded*, leagued, united, cf vi. 85

718 *smiling*, important is indicating the irony of what follows

729 *advise*, consider, see G

733 Scan *asplet*, as in vi 450, so usually in M

734 *lightening* I should be inclined to take it as a noun, in apposition to 'Son'—cf 457, 458, "radiant forms, Divine effulgence"—did not the First Ed print it *Light'ning*, which implies that it was meant to be a participle (*divine*=divinely) Contrast vi 642 there it is a noun, and the First Ed has *Lightning*, so in I 175, II 66

736, 737 Cf *Ps* ii 4, "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh the Lord shall have them in derision"

739 *illustrates*, makes illustrious Richardson (*Dict*) cites Hakluyt, *Voyages*, I 352, "to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse realme"

740 *event*, issue, result, Lat *eventus*, a not uncommon sense in

M and Shak Cf 1 624, "strife not inglorious, though the event was dire," and *Much Ado*, 1 2 7, *Hamlet*, IV 4 50

744. *an host* So the First Ed, we should say *a* Cf, however, Shak *Antony*, II 5 87, "An host of tongues," and 2 *Hen VI* III 1. 342, "To send me packing with an host of men"

748 *regencies*, dominions, the abstract (used passively) for concrete. So we find *reign*=realm, cf Gray's *Elegy*, 12, "her ancient solitary reign."

750 *triple degrees* See 587, note, and cf Spenser, *Heavenly Love*, "they (angels) in their triuall triplicities About Him wait and on His will depend" *to* compared to, Gk $\pi\acute{o}\varsigma$

753, 754 *ie* elongated from its form as a globe, *globe* *ie*, a noun

756 *and Satan, ie came*

759 See VI 364, note, and cf Spenser's description of the palace with "an hundred pillars eke about, All of fine Diamant decking the front," *Visions of Ballaly*, first version

760—66 The main verb is *called* (766), *which* (762) being the accus after it The allusion is to *Isai* LIV 13 (see 688—9, note), where the 'mount of assembly' may be Zion

763 *affecting*, aiming at, seeking to obtain, cf Lat *affectare* Cf II 206, "affecting Godhead," and 2 *Hen VI* IV 7 104, "have I affected wealth?"

768 *pretending* *commanded*, cf perhaps *S A* 212, "pretend they ne'er so wise," which may mean 'pretend to be wise' (but see note there) M is imitating the Lat *simulo*, cf Livy, LVII 12, *Hannibal agrum simulabat*, or Ovid, *Rem Amoris*, 493, *sanum simula*

772 In the First Ed there is only—and rightly—a comma at the end of this line Some texts substitute a semicolon, thereby disconnecting the line from what follows, and making what sense I know not Keighley says, "it is evident there is a break at the end"—and marks the supposed break in his text But the passage, as it stands in the original, is quite simple and Miltonic Satan addresses the angels by their habitual titles, and then sarcastically adds that he is not quite sure whether they ought still to claim those titles For the same brevity of phrase, in which it is easy to trace the half-expressed train of thought in the speaker's mind, cf 361, and II 11—14

782—8 See 608 Todd cites *Rich II* I 4 33, "And had the tribute of his supple knee" The whole drift of this passage may be contrasted with IV 958, 959, where Gabriel, speaking to Satan, says, "Patron of liberty, who more than thou Once fawned, and cringed?"

784 *proclaimed*, publicly decreed, ordained (cf 602 *et seq*), qualifying *knee tribute*. But we might refer it to *image*, cf vi 736

785 *erect*, raise, lift

789, 790 i.e. if I may be sure that I know you aright, or if you know yourselves to be—as you are—sons of Heaven. *possessed*, qualifying *Hear'er*, though it might possibly go with *sons*

793 *jar not with*, harmonise with, a metaphor from music. Shak. uses the verb *jar*=to be discordant, out of tune (cf *Two Gentlemen* iv 2 67, *Lear*, iv 7 16), and the noun=discord, cf *As You Like It*, ii 7 5, "if he, compact of jars, grow musical" *consist*, we should say 'are consistent with' Cf Pope, *E on Man*, iv "health consists with temperance alone"

798 Scan *edict*, as in *S A* 301, the only other place in *M* where it occurs. Shak. has both *edict* (*Midsummer N D* i 1 151) and *edict* (*1 Hen. VI* iv 3 79), the modern accentuation

798, 799 i.e. who, as it is, without the restraint of any law, avoid sin. Why, he contends, impose laws on those who need no law to make them walk aright?

799 The line is a well known *crux*. I think that "for this"=for this reason, on this account (cf "for that," i 874), namely, that the angels are "without law." 'If,' argues Satan, 'we can do right without the restrictions of laws, surely that is a reason why we should not have a law giving lord set over us.' So much for the sense as to the grammar. The clause seems added as an after thought, "to be" having no strict construction, but depending on some words like 'ought he' or 'is he' which the speaker has in his mind, though he does not express them. We must remember that the line is spoken, and that *M* introduces into his speeches (see 772, note) just the kind of verbal irregularities, the swift turns of thought and phrase, that belong to oratory—such e.g. as we get constantly in Thucydides. They are frequent in *S A* where, as Coleridge happily said, the "logic of passion" often prevails over the "logic of grammar." Warburton takes "for this"=for this purpose 'who can claim lordship for the purpose of introducing laws and edicts,' and Dr Masson follows him

800 *to the abuse*, i.e. to the depreciation of our titles

805 *Abdiel*, 'Servant of God'

809 Scan *blasphemous*, as in vi 360

814—18 Referring to ii 607, 608

819 *flatly*, absolutely, cf ii 143, "flat despair"

821 *unsucceded*, having no successor, i.e. everlasting

822—5 "Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?" *Rom* ix 20, where observe the marginal reading "*disputant* with God" The thought is worked out in *S A* 307—14.

835—41 The main reference is to *Colos* i 16, 17, see 853—64 *His Word* Alluding to *St John* i 1—3, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God All things were made by Him"

839 *named*, i.e. named them

842—4 The argument seems to be that Christ, by becoming the head of the angels (see 686, 830, vi 779), became in a measure one of them, and so ennobled their nature.

853—64 Contrast iv 42, 43, where Satan admits (to himself) what he here denies, viz that he and the other angels were created by God, and see ix 146—7 In the *Christian Doc* vii M says, "That the angels were created at some particular period, we have the testimony of *Nurib* xvi 22 and xxvii 16," and he instances other texts, among them being *Colos* i 16 (noticed *supra*)

857, 858 Cf viii 250, 251, "For man to tell how human life began Is hard, for who himself beginning knew?"

861, 862 See 583, note. *fatal course*, the course of *life the birth*, the offspring—abstract for concrete

864 "Thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things," *Ps* xli 4

869 *besecuring or besieging* Such jingles are common in M, they generally express sarcasm or contempt—as here Cf i 642, "tempted our attempt," *S A* 1134, "Armed thee or charmed thee strong," and 1278, "seats of war defeats" We find the same trick in Elizabethan writers, cf Marlowe in *2 Tamburlaine*, v 3, "Hell and darkness pitch their pitchy tents," and *Faustus* (first chorus), "we must perform The form of Faustus' fortunes"

871 Satan taunts him with flight in vi 151, 152

872 "And I heard as it were the voice of many waters" *Rom* xix 6 Cf also the simile in ii 284—90

874, 875 *for that*, on that account, cf "for this," 799 (note) *flaming Seraph*, cf 807, and see G Cf also Spenser, *Hymn of Heavenly Beattie*, "And those eternall burning Seraphins, Which from their faces dart out fierie light"

878—81 In the First Ed there is no comma after *crew*, the construction being, 'I see thy fall determined, thy crew involved etc., and contagion spread' (i.e. three clauses dependent on *I see*), *spread* being a p.p. like *determined* and *involved* Some editors needlessly

place a comma after *crew* and make *spread* an infinitive—"I see thy crew, being involved etc., spread destruction" (i.e. only two clauses dependent on *I see*) "Foul contagion spread" occurs in *Lyc* 127

886—8 So in II 326—8 Beelzebub warns the rebellious angels that God will extend his empire over hell, and "with iron sceptre rule Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven" In each case the allusion is partly to *Ps* II 9, "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron" (repeated in *Act* II. 27), cf Spenser, "His sceptre is the Rod of Righteousnesse, With which he bruseth all his foes to dust," *Hymne of Heavenly Beautie* The distinction between iron typifying hostility and gold typifying benevolence is part of the symbolism in which M delights Cf *Lyc* 110, 111, where St Peter bears "two massy keys"—the golden admitting to Heaven, the iron excluding (see Pitt Press *Lyc* pp 141, 142) Charles the Great used a golden sceptre with a dove on it (as symbol of the guiding power of the Holy Ghost)

888 Referring to Satan's advice in 871, "fly, ere evil, etc."

890 Cf *Lumb* xii 26, "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men"—an appropriate allusion, as Moses is there dissuading the congregation of Israel from joining Korah and his followers who, like Satan and his angels, were rebels Cf *VI* 607, 608 *devoted*, doomed, see G Abdiel's meaning, put rather tersely, is—"I do not fly because of your threats, but lest the wrath etc."

893 *His thunder*, see *VI* 836 *et seq*

899 A favourite type of verse with M and many other English poets, cf II 185, "Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved," and III 231 "Comes unprevented, unimplored, unsought" The effect is emphasis, it is finely employed in *Hamlet*, I 5 77

906, 907 *retorted*, flung back, for this, the literal use, cf *Romeo*, III 1 169, *Troilus*, III 3 101 Now it usually signifies verbal reply *proud towers*, i.e. of the palace (758—66)

BOOK VI.

1, 2 *the angel*, Abdiel *champaign*, plains, see G

2—4 From Ovid, *Met* II 112, *ecce vigil nitido patefecit ab ortu | purpureas Aurora fores et plena rosarum | atria* Homer makes the Hours keep the gates of Olympus, cf Giles Fletcher, *Death of Elizabeth*, "The early Howres were readie to unlocke The doore of Morne, to let abroad the Day"

3 *with rosy hand* Cf Jonson, *Masque of Oberon*, "And with her rosy hand puts back the stars" (said of the morn) It is suggested by Homer's *ροδοδάκτυλος ἠώς*, 'rosy fingered dawn'

4—11 See v 643, 644 The notion of light and darkness "dislodging by turns," the one going out as the other comes in, had its origin in Hesiod, *Theog* 747, 748 (Newton)

8 *vicissitude*, alternation, cf VII 351, and Wordsworth, "undisturbed vicissitude Of seasons," *Devotional Incitements*

10 *obsequious*, obedient, doing its duty, cf 783, now a depreciatory word, implying 'servile' See 147, note.

11, 12 i.e. what is thought darkness in Heaven (where there is no night, v 645) would seem twilight on earth.

19 *in procinct*, ready, Lat *in procinctu*, in readiness, from the noun *procinctus*, a being prepared for battle. Cf the p p *procinctus*, prepared—literally girded up, from *procingere*, to gird or tuck up the dress M uses *succinct* in that sense, III 643, "His habit (i.e. dress) fit for speed succinct"

29—36 *Servant of God*, see v 805 Texts glanced at are *Mat* xxv 21, 1 *Tim* vi 12, 2 *Tim* iv 7, "I have fought a good fight," *Ps* lxxv 7, "for thy sake I have borne reproach," and 2 *Tim* ii 15

Is Milton here thinking of himself? He too had sacrificed all to "the testimony of truth" (as he judged), and borne reproach for his allegiance to the cause of republicanism when the "revolted multitudes" went back to the old order of things and acclaimed the Restoration M is one of the most personal of poets, and there is a constant play of personal and contemporary allusion in his poems. See 462, XI 542—6, 632—6, 808—18, and *S A* 697—700, 1457—72 (with the notes)

34 "Evill deedes may better then bad words be bore," *Faerie Q* IV 4 4

42 *right reason*, cf XII 84, M uses the phrase = conscience, cf *Christian Doct* 11, "that feeling, whether we term it conscience or right reason" Cf Pope, *Essay on Crit* 11, "If once right reason drives that cloud away" (but there 'reason' = the reasoning faculty)

44—55 The notion of the battle is based on *Rev* xii 7—9

44 *Michael*, 'who is like unto God?', being an archangel he is chosen to fulfil high office (v 221, note) In *Christian Doct* 1X M writes "Michael, the leader of the angels, is introduced (*Rev* xii) in the capacity of a hostile commander waging war with the prince of the devils, the armies on both sides being drawn out in battle array" (cf ll 105—7) *prince*, cf *Dan* xii 1, "Michael the great prince."

45, 46 *Gabriel*, 'man of God,' in the Bible always the bearer of tidings from Heaven, cf *Luke* 1, where he announces the birth of John the Baptist, and later, the birth of Christ. Following possibly some mediaeval tradition, M makes him one of the chief warriors of Heaven, cf IV 550 He is inferior to Michael ("next," l 45) because only an angel Heywood (*Hierarchy*, 1635) draws the same distinction

49 *in number*, i.e. one third of the host, see v 710, note.

52 *drive them out*, really this is done by Messiah (860 *et seq*)

53—5 Hell has already been created, see *Appen Tartarus*, in many classical writers a synonym of Hades or the lower world, equivalent in M to 'Hell,' cf II 858 Bentley changed l 55 thus—"Its fiery jaws, wide to receive them all," a proposal worth noting, as typical of the reckless audacity with which he mangled the text—and still more, of his extraordinary ignorance of Milton's language What could be more infelicitous than an alteration introducing *its*, a pronoun studiously avoided by M and found only three times in all his poems?

56—9 A reminiscence of *Exod* xix 16, 18 *Souvan*, see G

57, 58 *to roll*, i.e. smoke began to roll flames in wreaths Keightley takes *roll* = enroll, enwrap *reluctant*, struggling, forcing their way through the smoke, see G

59, 60 *the trumpet* Cf XI 73—6, where the angels are summoned by a trumpet which M suggests may be the one afterwards heard on Mount Horeb (*Exod* xix 16—19) "When God descended, and perhaps once more To sound at general doom"

gan blow, i.e. began, Shak also omits *to*, cf *Coriol* II 2 119, "the din of war gan pierce" Probably the omission was partly due to the old use of *gan*, the pret of *ginnen*, as an auxiliary verb = 'did' Thus in Spenser "*gan blow*" might mean '*did blow*,' and M *may*

have revived the idiom, as some think. But wherever he uses *gan*, beginning is implied, cf. l. 1016, x. 710, *P R* iv 410. In Shak there is no doubt, cf. "gan to look" in *Cymb* v 3 37—proof that he did not regard *gan* as an auxiliary.

62 *stood for*, fought for, cf. *Coriol* II 2 45, "stood for his country," and iv 6 45 *quadrate*, square.

63—8 Cf the very similar scene in i 549—59, there (as in *Of Education*) M. dwells on the influence of music (cf. ll 65, 66).

69 *obvious*, lying in their way—Lat. *obvius*, cf. xi 374.

73—6 "And Adam gave names to the fowl of the air," *Gen* ii 20. See vii 493.

78 *this terrene*, this earth, adj. as noun.

79 *to the North*. See v 689, note. M. clearly places the conflict in some part of Heaven, but this was a point much disputed among theologians. Cf. Reginald Scot, *Discovery*, "Now where this battell was fought there is great contention. The *Thomists* say in the empyrean heaven, where the abode is of blessed spirits. *Augustine* and manie others saie in the highest region of aier, others saie, in the firmament, others in paradise," Nicholson's ed., p. 423.

81—5 i.e. and at nearer view there bristled the banded powers, *bristled* (the main verb) conveys the same impression as Lat. *horriere*, cf. "horrent arms," ii 513. Many editors take *bristled* as a p.p., supplying *appeared* from l. 79 as the main v.b. to go with *powers* in l. 85—an awkward ellipse surely. *beams*, shafts of the spears.

82—4 Heywood (*Hierarchie*, p. 341) says of the combat

"No Lances, Swords, nor Bombards they had then,

Or other weapons now in use with men,

None of the least materiall substance made,

Spirits by such gize no offence or aid,

Onely spiritual Armes to them were lent."

Milton's description is throughout material, realistic, and, if I may use the word, objective. His battle is a Homeric fray, slightly idealised.

84 *argument*, designs, subjects, a Latinism. Cf. *Epitaphium Damonis*, 184, *gemino calaverat argurento* (said of an artist working designs on a goblet). Cf. too Milton's Lat. use of *argument*=subject-matter of a poem, i 24, ix 13.

90 *fond*, foolish. "foolish, fond old man," *Lear*, iv 7 60.

93 *hosting*, encounter, see G. Being ignorant of the word, Bentley proposed *jousting*. *wont*, are wont, see G.

101, 102 *idol*, image. *flaming Cherubim*, M. always invests the

Cherubim with brilliance, following Ezekiel (chap. 1.—especially verses 13, 14) In IV 797 they are "radiant files;" in IV 156, "flaming ministers," in *Nat Ode*, 114, "glittering ranks"

101 *lighted*, alighted, descended

105 *interval*, τὸ μετὰχρον, the space between two armies

107, 108 *cloud van*, i.e. the van guard (Fr *avant garde*) dense as a cloud *edge*, Lat *acies*, the front line of a fight; cf I 276, "on the perilous edge Of battle"

114 Newton notes that such soliloquies (or thinkings aloud) are common in Epic poets, e.g. in Homer Like speeches and dialogues they serve, somewhat artificially, to vary the narrative which, cast in one continuous form, would become monotonous

115 *reality*, reality, the form occurs in Henry More's *Life of the Soul*, II 12 Some editors explain *reality*=loyalty, i.e. as used in the sense of Ital *realta*, loyalty, *reale*, loyalty But there is no evidence that the word ever bore this meaning, and surely the ordinary sense suffices since what Abdiel deplores is that Satan retains the outward semblance of greatness after the inward reality has gone from him An obvious correction is *fidelity*

116, 117 Cf the sentiment in IV 856, "wicked and thence weak" See too *S A* 834 *to sight*, outwardly

120, 121 Referring to the last scene in bl. v (ll 809 *et seq*) *tried*, i.e. tried, or tested, and found unsound

124 Scan *contest*, as always in M, cf *S A* 461, 865

126 i.e. it is most reasonable that reason etc

129 *prevention*, coming before, the lit sense of Lat *prævenio*

130 *securely*, without anxiety, boldly—Lat *secure*, see G

143 *therebe* Cf *Com* 519, "such there be" Morris says, "The root *be* was conjugated in the present tense, singular and plural, as late as Milton's time," *Outlines*, p 182 The sing was almost limited to the phrase "if thou beest," common in Shakspeare, cf *Tempest*, v 134, "if thou beest Prospero," cf *P L* I 84, "if thou beest he" The plural is frequent in Elizabethan writers e.g. in Shakspeare, cf too the Bible (of 1611), e.g. in *Gen* xlii 32, "We be twelve brethren," and *Mat* xi 14, "They be blind leaders" M, being in point of English an Elizabethan, keeps the use, but it was growing obsolete, thus in the revision of the Prayer-Book, 1661, *are* was substituted for *be* in forty three places (i.e. everywhere save one instance in *The Catechism*)

144 *piety*, duty, Lat *pietas*, it meant dutiful feeling towards (i) parents and family, (ii) one's country (i.e. patriotism) For (i) cf

1 *Tim* v 4, "show piety at home," for (ii) cf *S A* 993, "piety to my country shown"

147, 148 *sect*, followers (Lat *sequi*), in modern E depreciatory Language (see l 10, note) tends to deteriorate in sense, few English words have risen in meaning *few*, a few

151 *sought for*, i.e. by Satan, it qualifies *thou*

153 *assay*, trial, attempt, see G

156 See v 710, note *synod*, specially used by Shak of an assembly of the gods, cf *Coriol* v 2 74, "the glorious gods Sit in hourly synod" So M in II 391, VI 67

161 *success*, fortune, in Shak often a neutral word, signifying how a person fares, or a matter turns out, whether well or ill Cf "bad success" in *Troilus*, II 2 117, and 3 *Hen VI* II 2 46 Here 'ill-fortune' is implied, cf II 9, "by success untought"

162, 163 *this pause*, i.e. let there be Satan will pause a moment to reply to Abdiel's speech, lest the latter should boast that his arguments have been unanswered

165, 166 *all one*, i.e. the same, identical M is glancing at one of his favourite maxims, that too many men had rather purchase ease at the expense of slavery than liberty at the cost of effort Cf *S A* 268—271, and contrast II 255—257

167, 168 *minsterng minstrelsy* A contemptuous jingle, cf v 869, note, both words are from Lat *ministerium* There is a reference to *Heb* I. 14, "are they not all ministering spirits?"

168, 169 *minstrelsy*=minstrels, *servility*=slaves, *freedom*=free men Abstract for concrete (active or passive) is common in M as in Shak, cf *message*=messenger, *S A* 635, *inhabitation*=inhabitants, *S A* 1512, *visitation*=thing visited, VI 275

170 i.e. the deeds of both, of the free angels and of the enslaved

174, 175 i.e. unjustly do you depreciate ('depravest') service to God's Son by calling it servitude. For 'deprave'=detract, depreciate, cf *Much Ado*, v 1 95, "flout (i.e. jeer), deprave and slander," and *Troilus*, v 2 132, where 'deprivation'=detraction

182 *lowly*, basely

183, 184 Cf Satan's words in I 263, "Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven"—a thought which may ultimately derive from Homer, *Od* VI 488, but which in its English form M must have read in Phineas Fletcher, cf *Purple Island*, VII 10, "In Heaven they scorn'd to serve, so now in Hell they reign"

186, 187 See 739, note. *thou saidst*, in 151, 152, cf v 871

195 *his spear*, taller than a pine tree or vessel mast (I 292)

195—198 Cf I 230, 231, "as when the force Of subterranean wind transports a hill," and *S A* 1647, 1648, "As with the force of winds and waters pent When mountains tremble." M seems to have thought that earthquakes were partly due to the escape of winds pent up underground

207 In the description that follows editors find echoes of Hesiod's account of the strife between the Titans and Zeus M evidently admired the *Theogony*, cf 4—11, note, and *Lyc* 15, 16 (modelled on the commencement of the *Theog*, see Pitt Press *Lyc* pp 123, 124)

210 *madding*, mad, raging, see G

212, 213 *hiss of darts*, i e hissing darts; the use of the abstract lends a touch of vagueness which increases the horror of the scene

214 Cf I 297, 298, "the torrid clime vaulted with fire"

215, 216 *cope*, roof, covering, cf IV 992 (imitated by Thomson, *Winter*, "all one cope Of starry glitter") *cope*, *cap*, *cape* are akin *battles*, armies, a common use in M and Shak., cf *Rich III* v 3 88, "prepare thy battle," so in I 386

219 *centre*, sometimes used alone to signify the middle point of the earth, cf *Com* 382 Hamlet will find truth, "though it were hid indeed Within the centre," II 2 158, 159

222 i e the four elements, see V 180, note

225 *combustion*, confusion, turmoil, see G

229—236 "Each legion was in number like an army, each single warrior was in strength like a legion, and, though led in fight, was as expert as a commander in chief," Newton

229 *numbered such*, so numerous.

233 *as in chief*, as if in command, *as*, see 239

236 *ridges*, i e the ranks of troops, the metaphor, perhaps, of furrows in a ploughed field So Shak *Lucrece*, 1439

238 *argued*, showed, gave proof of—Lat *arguo*, cf *S A* 1193 "which argued me no foe" So often in Shak, cf *Romeo*, II 3 33

239 *as*, as if, not uncommon in M Cf Shak *Hen V* II 4 20, "preparations As were a war in expectation."

moment, the impulse that should turn the scale (cf 245) on the side of victory, Lat *momentum* Cf X 45—47 (a close parallel), and *Christian Doct* X "the balance of earthly happiness or misery," where the original has *tantum vitæ momentum vel beatæ vel miseræ*

248 *no equal*, yet he had been foiled by Abdiel

249 *fighting Seraphim confused* The order of the words—a noun

placed between two qualifying words—is a favourite with M, cf v 5, 348, 477. The idiom is Greek, in his note on *Lyc* 6 Mr Jerram quotes Hesiod, *Theog* 811, χαλκείος οὐδὸς ἀστεμφής, and Eurip *Phon* 234, νιφόβολον ὄρος ἰρόν. Gray probably borrowed the trick from M (cf *Elegy* 53, "a gem of purest ray serene"), and Campbell from Gray (cf *Pleasures of Hope*, "Of cultured soul, and sapient eye serene")

250—253 For the sword of Michael (mentioned neither in *Rc*, nor in *Daniel*), see II 294, 295, and XI 247, 248 (where it is called "Satan's dire dread") *two handed*, i.e. wielded with both hands because of its size and weight, cf Shak *2 Hen IV* II i 46, "Come with thy two hand sword." This passage gave rise to the notion that the "two handed engine" of *Lyc* 130 meant Michael's sword

255 *his shield*, vast as the moon's orb (l 287) *tenfold*, with ten layers, cf "seven times-folded shield," i.e. *septuagies*, *S A* 1122

258, 259 *surmised*, ceased, see G. *intamine*, internal, civil

265 *hardest on*, i.e. falling heaviest on, most disastrous to

274—276 *brooks*, suffers, tolerates *evil The offspring*. In the famous allegory of Sin and Death, II 648 *et seq*, Sin, "the portress of Hell gate," describes herself as the daughter of Satan

277 *broils*, turmoils, cf Fr *braviller*, to mince, confuse

282 *Adversary*, Satan; see v 628, 639, note *with a loud*, i.e. with the empty sound of threats

285—287 i.e. even if they have fallen, they have risen again; *Let that*=yet. Have you, says Satan, been so successful in putting these to flight, that you should hope to deal ('transact') easily with me?

288 *err* i.e. of that, do not foolishly think that.

289 *evil*, we might have expected *hateful* cf 264, but in 262 Abdiel implied that the strife was part of the evil due to Satan

291—293 Cf 183, l 255 *to dwell*, i.e. we mean to dwell

296 *parle*, discuss on now *parley*, but Shak. and M have both forms *addressed*, prepared, see G

298, 299 *relate* *listen*, i.e. *it*, viz. the fight

306 Cf *Herry V* II *clor* 8, "now sits Expectation in the air," and *Troilus*, *prol* 20. Cf the personification of Horror in IV 989

310—315 i.e. such commotion as there would be, if nature's concord having been broken, war should arise among the constellations, and twelve planets should combat. Cf II 533—538 and 714—720, where Satan's meeting with Death is compared to the clashing of two thunder clouds

311 *great things by small*. Vergil's *parvis componere magna solemus*, *Ecl* I 24. M. has the allusion in II 921, 922, v 306

313, 314 *aspect*, in Elizabethan E often used as an astrological term signifying the position of a planet in the sky, and its 'influence' (see G), which was favourable or 'malign' according to its position Cf *Lear*, II 2 112, and *Troilus*, I 3 92, "the ill aspects of planets evil" M mentions the five main 'aspects,' x 658 *et seq*

When two planets are distant from each other by half the circle, i.e. are in diametrically opposite parts of the heavens, they are said, in astrological language, to be 'in opposition' And it is 'a malign aspect,' because the rays of the two bodies collide and strive for mastery, shedding a "noxious efficacy" (x 660) on the earth. The Elizabethans often refer to this notion, cf Shak *Rich III* IV 4 402, "Be opposite all planets of good luck," and *Dr Faustus* VI 65, "why have we not oppositions, eclipses all at one time?" Dr Ward in his ed. of *Dr Faustus*, p 172, also refers to Marlowe's *Tamb* III 5, and to Greene's *James IV* I 1

316, 317 i.e. with well-nigh almighty arm uplifted threateningly, *imminent*=ready to fall

318, 319 *determine*, make an end of the matter Cf II 330, "war hath determined us" *repeat*, repetition, cf its substantival use as a term in music. *odds*, inequality, cf 441

320-323 Cf Spenser's description of Artegall's sword, *F Q* v 1 10 *the armoury*, "The Lord hath opened his armoury," *Jerem* I 25 Cf Tennyson, "Gabriel, Abdiel, Starr'd from Jehovah's gorgeous armouries" (lines on Milton) *tempered*, to 'temper' metal is to harden it by cooling after it has been heated, cf II 812, 813

323-327 "Michael's sword with the down stroke cut that of Satan in two, and then with an up-stroke (*coup de revers*) it 'shared' his side" (Keightley) *shared*, cut, laid open, used by Spenser, e.g. in *F Q* IV 2 17, v 5 9 Cf *shear*, *share* (a portion), plough *share*,—all from the root *skar*, seen in Gk *kelpew*, Lat. *secare*

327 *first knew pain* See II. 362, 394, 431, 432 Only the rebellious angels are sensible of physical pain, and the reason is given in 691—"sin hath impaired" Through sin they have made gross (cf 661) the pure 'essence' of their original forms, and spirit has deteriorated into matter (cf v 478, note), rendering them vulnerable The obedient angels are invulnerable because innocent (400-403)

329 *grinding*, piercing, cutting through, see G "*Discontinuous wound* is said in allusion to the old definition of a wound, that it separates the continuity of the parts" (Newton) In surgical language, *vulnus est solutio continuu*

330, 331 Happily imitated by Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 439, 440, "Fate urg'd the shears, and cut the Sylph in twain (But airy substance soon unites again)" Cf too Wordsworth, *Laodamia*, "The Phantom parts, but parts to reunite" Todd quotes from Burton's *Anatomy* to the effect that "devils feele paine if they be hurt [cf I 327], that, if their bodies be cut, with admirable celerity they come together againe, that, in their fall, their bodies were changed into a more grosse substance [cf I 661]" M has worked in all three ideas, he may have owed them to the *Anatomy* (with which he was certainly acquainted—see *Introduction* to *L'Al* pp λλix, cxx) See again 435, 436

332 *nectarous*, 'divine,' 'heavenly' Bentley with misdirected ingenuity proposed *ichorous*, coining it from Gk *ιχώρ*, Homer's name for the fluid that issued from the gods when wounded, cf *Il* v 340, ἀμβροτον αἷμα θεῶν, | ιχώρ οὐδὲς πέρ τε βέλαι μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι

335 *was run*, i.e. Lat *cursum est* The whole picture of the wounded chief being rescued by his friends and borne from the field to his chariot is Homeric Hume compares *Il* xiv 428

339 *files*, ranks, cf I 567, "the armed files"

348 *liquid texture*, i.e. the 'essence' of which he speaks in I 425—"soft and uncompounded" With I 349 cf *Hamlet*, I i 145 "it [the ghost] is, as the air, invulnerable," and IV i 44 "the woundless air"

351—353 Spirits take "what shipe they choose, Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure," I 428, 429 See end of same book, 789—793 *rare*, thin, the exact opposite of 'dense' (cf II 948)

354—385 With regard to some of the names here and later (*Il* 447, 620), we should recollect that in I 361 *et seq* M adopted the mediæval notion that the deities of heathenism, oriental and classical, were the apostate angels He could not describe their rebellion without giving them *some* titles this belief (based upon texts such as *Levit* xii 7, I *Cor* x. 20) supplied him with suitable ones And in I 361—375 he admits that these deities were not so called until after times, but contends that as their heavenly titles were blotted out (cf 379), he must, by anticipation, use those which later ages assigned to them

355 *the might of Gabriel*, the mighty Gabriel, cf 371, 372 It is an imitation of the use of the abstract in Latin, as in Horace's *mitis sapientia Læli* ('the wisdom of Lælius' = the wise Lælius), or *prisci Catonis virtus* Cf Dryden, *Æn.* VI 942, "the filial duty thus replies," i.e. the dutiful son

357 *Moloch*, 'king,' cf I 392, and II 43—45, "Moloch, sceptred

king the strongest and the fiercest spirit That fought in Heaven" He illustrates this character in his speech in II 51—105

359, 360 Alluding to 2 *Kings* xix 22 Scan *blasphémous*

362 *uncouth*, strange, cf II 327, 394, 431, 432 *uncouth*, see G

363 *Uriel*, 'flame of God,' an archangel (III 648), the name occurs in the Apocryphal book of 2 *Esdras* x 28 According to a mediæval belief, Uriel was head of one of the three Hierarchies (see v 587), Lucifer and Michael being the heads of the other two He had dominion over the planets and their influences (Scot, *Discourse*, 1584, p 527), see III 690

364 See note on 831—41. Some editors interpret 'diamond' = 'adamant' (cf 110, 255), the words, etymologically identical, were sometimes treated as synonymous But we hear of "diamond quarries," v 759, and of "diamond rocks," *Com* 881, where 'diamond' must bear its common sense perhaps it does here applied to angelic beings the description would not be extravagant

365 *Adramelech*, 'magnificence of the king,' a deity whose worship was brought to Samaria by the colonists from Sepharvaim (2 *Kings* xvii 31) He represented an aspect of the Sun god

Asmadai, Heb *Aschmedai*, 'the destroyer,' traced by some scholars to the *Æshma deva*, one of the evil demons of the ancient Persian religion In IV 168 M uses the form *Asmodeus*, now generally employed (and perhaps most familiar to us through Le Sage's work, *Le Diable Boiteux*), in *P. R* II. 151, we get *Asmodai* Editors refer to the account of Asmodeus in the book of *Tobit* (see v 221, note), but that account scarce explains why M specially mentions him among the combatants and alludes to his might (cf 'potent,' 366) His reason for doing so, I venture to suggest, was that in the systems of demonology popular in the 16th and 17th centuries Asmodeus held very high rank, and was a type of might Thus Heywood (*Hierarchy*, 1635) says that the fallen angels, like the faithful angels (cf v 587, note), were divided into nine Orders, and that Asmodeus was head of the fourth Order (p 436) Reginald Scot (*Discovery*, 1584) speaks of "*Sidonay, alias Asmoday*, a great king, strong and mightie" (Nicholson's ed p 321), and in the *Faust book* (1594), second part, we read of "Asmody a king mighty and puissant" (Thoms' *English Prose Romances*, 1858, III 319) There can be no doubt that Milton was deeply versed in these mediæval traditions, and this particular tradition as to the might of Asmodeus lends, I think, significance to the present passage

368 *plate and mail*, two kinds of armour *plate*, made of solid pieces of metal, *mail*, a sort of chainwork

371, 372 *Ariel*, 'lion of God,' cf *Isai* xix 1 (margin), where Ariel seems to be a title of Jerusalem, it is the name of one of the "chief men" whom Ezra summoned (*Ec.* viii 16) Either M has some special (but hitherto unexplained) reason for introducing Ariel—which seems to me most probable—or he has used the name merely because its meaning is so descriptive of a great warrior *Arioch*, 'lion-like,' cf *Gen* xiv 1, *Dan* ii 14 (where Nebuchadnezzar's "captain of the king's guard" is so called) That the name was applied, possibly in Rabbinical writings, to some evil spirit, seems proved by Nash's *Pierce Penniless*, "great Arioch, that is termed the spirit of revenge" (Keightley, *Life of Milton*, p 472) *Ramel*, 'exaltation of God,' whence M took the name (or whether he coined it), I cannot say

374 *eternize*, make eternal in fame, immortalize, cf Spenser, *Tears of the M*, 582, "her eternize with their heavenlie wits"

374, 375 Cf 1 *Tim* v 21, "the elect angels," words which M explains in *Christian Doct* 14, "beloved, or excellent."

375 True fame is of Heaven alone (*Lyc* 78—84)

378—381 See v 658, 659, note *just* (381), justice

386, 387 *stovered*, gave way, *deformed*, hideous, Lat *deformis*

390 *chariater*, so First Ed, cf 'pionier,' 1. 676 These forms occur in First Folio of Shak, cf 'pionier,' *Hamlet*, 1 5 163, *Othel* III 3 346, 'enginer,' *Troilus*, II 3 8, 'mutiner,' *Coriol* I 1 254 The forms are retained in good texts of Shak e.g. the *Globe*

391—396 *what stood*, contrasted with "lay overturned," 390 The sense is—such part of the army as had not been overthrown, now either retreated through the Satanic host (which scarce offered any resistance), or fled in utter disorder Retreat through weariness and flight through fear are contrasted

399 *cubic*, four square, cf 'quadrate,' 1 62, not an exact use of 'cubic,' but cf, with Pearce, Milton's *Church Gov*, "as those smaller squares in battle unite in one great cube, the main phalanx" Masson takes 'cubic' literally, arguing that as the angels are not subject to the law of gravitation they can form a cube or any other solid figure.

402, 403 The infinitives are in apposition to *innocence*, 1 401

404 *unobnoxious*, not liable, see G

407 *inducing*, bringing on, exactly Horace's *jam nox inducere terris | umbras parabat* (*Sat* 1 5 9)

410 Cf *Hen V* iv 6 18, "this glorious and well foughten

field," the phrase seems to have been a common one. *fought en*=A S *feh'ten*, the p p of *feh'tan*, to fight

413. *Cherubic fires*, i.e. "flaming Cherubim" l 102 (note) Following *Gen* iii 24, M assigns to them always the duty of sentinels In iv. 780 they keep "their night-watches," and again in ix 62 Possibly he was influenced by the medieval belief that the Cherubim had a peculiar power of seeing In three passages Shak alludes to this—*Asapheth*, l 7 22—4, *Hamlet*, iv 3 50, *Troilus*, iii 2 74 "*weaving*" probably refers to the sword "which turned every way," *Gen* iii 24, cf xii 392, 393, 643

415 i.e. far removed into the durl, *dislodged*, cf 7, v 669

421 i.e. for mere ambition they aimed at something better than mere liberty Shak uses *pretence*=design, ambition, cf *Coriol* i 2 20 So M in ii 825 *affect*, see v 763

428, 429 *fallible* cf. liable to be mistaken in respect of the future, or "of future"=in the future—cf phrases like "of late," "of old"

432 i.e. condemned as soon as known

447 *Nisroch*, the Assyrian deity in whose temple Sennacherib was murdered by his sons, 2 *King* xix 37, *Isa* xxxvii 38 Reginald Scot 175 (*Discourse*, p 435), "*Nisroch* signifieth a delicate temptation," but probably it means 'great eagle'

455 i.e. against those who cannot be pruned (cf 404) or suffer Cf Dryden, speaking of the ghosts in Hades, "Forms without bodies and impassive air," *Ann* vi 409

458. *remiss*, in lit sense of Lat *remissus*, slack, relaxed, languid

462—4 Milton speaks from his own experience We know from Aubrey that in his last years he suffered much from gout He told one of his visitors that "was he free from the pain this gave him, his blindness would be tolerable" (Richardson's *Life of Milton*, 1734) Cf xi 542—6, and the pathetic lines in *S A* 698—700, where the personal allusion is unmistakable

465 *offend*=Lat *offendo*, strike, hit

467, 468 i.e. in my opinion he deserves no less gratitude than we owe to Satan for our deliverance Cf *to* in phrases like 'to my thinking,' 'to my knowledge,' 'to my mind,' all found in Shak

470 *uninvented*, unthought of he has discovered what is wanted The notion that cannon were invented in Hell is found in Ariosto, *O F* ix 28, Spenser, *F Q* i 7 13, Drayton, *Polyolhon*, 13

471 *main to*, essential to

472—6 i.e. which of us is there whose eye surveys?

474, 475 See *Appendix ambrosial*, see G

478, 479 *crude*, in their raw (Lat *crudus*), unwrought state, cf 511 *spiritous*, so the original eds, needlessly changed by some to 'spirituous' *spume*, see G The materials, he says, "contain spirituous and fiery particles (cf 483) which, if they be melted, will foam up out of them" (Keightley)

481, 482 Cf VII 89, and Shelley, *Alastor*, "the vast earth and ambient air" *ambient*, all pervading *nativity*, native state (or place) *the deep*, the underground, cf 478

495 i.e. to be despaired of, exactly Lat *desperandus*, cf I 660, "peace is despaired" So *Macbeth*, v 8 13, "despair thy charm"

496 *cheer*, spirits, generally high spirits, joy, but not always, cf Shak *Sonnet*, 97, 13, "so dull a cheer," and Marlowe's *Faustus*, XIII 61, "I go, sweet Faustus, but with heavy cheer" Properly *cheer* means face, from O F *chêre*=Late Lat *cara*, face (=Gk *κῆρα*, head?), and some editors think that it has that sense here.

498 *and each*, i.e. 'admired'=wondered, a common sense in M Cf II 677, 678, "what this might be [he] admired, Admired, not feared" So 'admiration'=wonder, surprise, III 271

501—6 *thy race*, Adam's Is M thinking of the Civil War?

510—15 See 478, 479, and cf "nitrous powder" in IV 815 Nitre or saltpetre is one of the ingredients of gunpowder

513 Bentley's change is amusing—"They pound, they mingle, and with sooty chark" *found*, surely the pret. of *find*, but it has been taken as *found*=to melt or cast metals That scarcely suits 'foam,' moreover, *founded* (cf I 703) would be required

514 i.e. baked and dried, see *concoct* and *adusted* in G

518, 519 *engines*, i.e. cannon—some of 'stony mould,' I 576 When cannon were first used, the balls were made of stone, not iron, cf the allusion to 'gunstones' in *Henry V* I 2 282, with the passage from Caxton's *Chronicles* quoted by Steevens—"[he] lette make grete gonne stones for the Dolphynne to play wyth all"

519 *incentive read*, i.e. the gunner's match *incentive*, enkindling

520 *pernicious to fire*, so full of destruction as to kindle—viz the powder Newton takes *pernicious*=Lat *pernix*, 'quick,' but could the word bear this meaning? M elsewhere (cf 849) always uses it=fraught with destruction (Lat *pernecium*)

521 See v 139 *conscious*, i.e. that witnessed what they did, Hume aptly cites Ovid, *Mét* XIII 15, *quorum nox conscia sola*

528, 529 *da-ving hills*, "great Rarities," said Bentley, and read

'downs and hills,' justifying Pope of his sneer at the "mighty scholiast" who "humbled Milton's strains" *coast*, region

535 i.e. the swiftest-winged Cherub *Zophiel*, 'spy of God' M seems to have invented the name—appropriately, since the Cherub is one of the scouts sent out (l. 529)

541 *sad*, steadfast, see G *secure*, without fear, see G

542 Cf Horace's *tunica adamantina*, *Od* 1.6.13—Todd

543, 544 M uses *gripe*, never *grip*, cf XI.264 *orbed*, circular, cf 254 The shields were held either straight out from the body, or high to protect the head (Masson)

546 i.e. arrows with fire at their points, cf Shelley, *Adonais* 99, "the barbed fire," i.e. piercing Cotgrave explains *flèche barbelée* by "a bearded or barbed arrow" A barb is a hook or jag on an arrow-head

547—9 Most modern texts have a semicolon after 'themselves' and a comma after 'impediment'—reversing the original punctuation, and awkwardly connecting all the qualifying adverbial phrases and adjectives in 548, 549 with 'they took alarm'

548, 549 *impediment*=Lat *impedimenta*, the baggage of an army *took alarm*, obeyed the summons to arms, see G under *alarm*

550 *move*, there is no authority for *moved*, adopted in some texts, but it is tempting, all the verbs being in the past tense

553 Cf *Henry V* III. chor. 33, "the devilish cannon" *trawling*, dragging, Fr *trafner*

558—67 The irony and verbal quibbles—'discharge,' 'touch' etc.—are too obvious to need comment This scene of the introduction of artillery can scarce be reckoned among the great achievements in *Paradise Lost* Humour is not Milton's *forte* witness the deplorable attempts in the *Animadversions* And are there not signs in what follows of some want of care? e.g. in the involved lines 571—8, and in 579—81, where 'stood' occurs three times

560 *composure*= 'composition,' 613, agreement, settlement

571—8 The sense appears to be We saw a row of brazen or iron pillars—at least things which but for their hollow mouths we should have supposed to be pillars (for they were very like them)

571, 572 *discovered*, disclosed, revealed, Fr *découvrir*, to uncover *triple row* There were three rows of cannon—either one behind the other, or one above the other (as in a battery or man of war) The former seems to me to be Milton's meaning

576 *mould*, material, cannon were sometimes made of stone, cf 517

578 *hollow*, i.e. deceitful, as applied to 'truce,' but there is a quibbling reference to the hollow barrels of the guns

580 *stood*, the subject, surely, is 'reed'—not 'Seraph,' *waving*, intransitive, cf 413 *suspense*, in suspense, Lat *suspensu*

581 *amused*, musing, wondering, the original sense—cf Cotgrave, "to amuse, make to muse or think of, to gaze at" Fr *amuser* is a compound of *a* and *O* F *muser*, to gaze at=*muse* in E

582 *at once*, simultaneously It seems best to make 'all' the subject to 'put,' and to mark this by placing 'at once' within commas Some editors take 'all at once' as a single adverbial phrase, but this is mere repetition after 'sudden,' leaving 'put' without a subject

584 *nicest*, most exact, accurate, see G

587 *embowelled*, filled

589 *glut*, i.e. the ammunition wherewith they were charged

595—7 Cf 656 M attributes to spiritual beings the power of reducing ('contracting') or expanding ('dilating,' I 429) themselves at will Cf 351—3, and I 789—90, "Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms Reduced their shapes immense."

598, 599 *dissipation*, scattering, flight, cf Lat. *dissipare*, to rout, put to flight *serried*, locked together, Fr *serré*

601 *indecent*, disgraceful, cf *decent*, graceful, comely, Lat. *decens*, III 644, and *Il Pen* 36, "thy decent shoulders"

605 *displode*, let off, fire *ture*, rank, row, see G.

609—19 Satan continues his punning word-play

621—7 The speech is full of obvious quibbles, that on 'understand,' I 625, occurs in Shak—*Twelfth Night*, III 1 89, and *Two Gentlemen*, II 5 28 "*Speed* I understand thee not *Launce* My staff understands me"

622, 623 *urged home*, i.e. thoroughly, to the full effect, frequent in Shak, cf *Lear*, III 3 13, "revenged home," and III 4 16, "I will punish home" *amused*, made them wonder, see 581.

635 Vergil's *furor arma ministrat*, *Æn* I 150

640 *hath from Heaven*, i.e. derives, receives, from See *Appen*

644—6 Cf II 539, 540 *shaggy*, descriptive of a wood-covered hill seen in profile, cf *Lyc* 54 Similar is Lat. *horrens* or *horridus* applied to woodland scenery

651 *confidence*, that in which they trusted, abstract for concrete

656—8 Cf 595 Perhaps a quibble is meant on 'armour' and 'harm.' *pent*, encased, i.e. in armour, qualifying 'substance'—not 'armour,' as the punctuation in some texts would force us to take it

660, 661 See 327, note, v 478, note, and v 600

665 *jaculation*, Lat *jaculatio*, a casting, hurling

668—70 Cf II 996, "Confusion worse confounded" *to wrack*, to destruction, see G In Milton, as in Homer, the successive battle scenes rise in the scale of terror On the first day the struggle of the angels only makes Heaven resound (217, 218), now it threatens to wreck the whole fabric of the Empyrean To work up to a climax thus is a natural device of art

673, 674 1 e guiding all things, directing the Universe M seems to use "sum of things" = the *summarius summa* of Lucretius v 361, 1 e the All, the Universe *advised*, an adverb—'purposely'

679 *assessor*, 1 e the sharer of his throne—lit 'one who sits by'

681, 682 1 e in whose face that which is invisible—namely, what I by Deity am—is visibly beheld Cf *Colos* I 15, "Who is the image of the invisible God" Similar allusions in *P L* are III 138—42, 385—7, VII 192—6, v 63—7 M puts the idea quite clearly in *Christian Doct* v (*P W* IV 143) *invisible beheld visibly* is an instance of oxymoron—the figure of speech by which antithetic words or ideas are closely associated, cf *Vac Ex* 52, "sweet captivity," and *L'Al* 141, "wanton heed" *invisible*, a noun = 'the invisible'

685 See v 579, note.

691, 692 *impaired*, see v 665 *suspend*, delay The sense is—Though sin has done them *some* harm, yet it has not made them so inferior to the good angels that the latter can win a decisive victory

698 *the main*, the whole 'continent' (474) of Heaven, or the whole Universe For *main* = land (not sea, as commonly), cf *Lear* III 1 6, "swell the curled waters 'bove the main," and Tennyson, *Princess*, "a spire of land Cleft from the main" From Lat *magnum*

703 *virtue*, efficacy, power, cf *Luke* viii 46, "virtue is gone out of me." M uses 'virtual,' XI 338, and 'virtuous,' III 608, = 'efficacious'

705, 706 *compare*, see v 467 *governed*, supply *I* from 704

709 Cf v 605

715, 716 Contrast v 716 *utter*, see G

719—21 Slightly varied in v 63—7 See 681, 682, note.

724—34 There are allusions to *John* xvii 1, 4, 21—23 (cf *P L* XI 42—44), *Matt* xvii 5 (cf *P R* I 85), 1 *Cor* xv 28, *Ps* cxxxix 21

728, 739 *prepared* Cf 53—55, and see *Rev* xxi 1, 2, 2 *Pet* ii 4, and *Jude* 6 ("reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the

judgment") The same references occur in l 186, l 48, II 169, III 82, XII 454 *the undying worm*, *Isai* lxvi 24, *Mark* ix 44

743, 744 See v 163, and contrast II 239—243

747 See v 606, cf 679, 892

748 Newton says—"Milton, by continuing the war for three days, and reserving the victory upon the third for the Messiah alone, plainly alludes to the circumstances of his death and resurrection" This is like enough, only it should be recollected that M was not alone in dividing the struggle into three parts The Schoolmen who discussed most things discussed the point how long the contest lasted, and (writes Reginald Scot) "the greatest number affirme that it stood with God's justice to give them [the rebellious angels] three warnings, so as at the third warning *Lucifer* fell downe like led to the bottom of hell," *Discourse*, Nicholson's ed, p 423 I presume, then, that in this, as in many similar details, M made use of mediæval tradition Unfortunately this aspect of his learning has never been adequately studied Another point is—M has assigned the overthrow of the rebels to Messiah, whereas in *Rev* xii 3—9 it is implied that Michael was their vanquisher, cf, however, verse 11 on which M may have based his view In any case it belonged to the scheme of his work to make the Messiah the subduer of Satan in Heaven—as on earth the first victory foreshadows that later one by which *Paradise Lost* became for humanity *Paradise Regained*

749—59 This description of the throne chariot of the Deity, and of the Cherubic Shapes whereby it was convoyed, is modelled very closely on Ezekiel's Vision, chap 1 M has worked in detail after detail of the Scriptural original, and the whole chapter should be compared with his narrative *Paradise Lost* contains no more striking instance of his skill in adapting Scripture to the purposes of his work Similar allusions are IV 973—6, where Satan taunts Gabriel (who however, was an angel, not a Cherub) with being "used to the yoke" of the chariot, and VII 218—220, where the Messiah, going forth to create the world, "on the wings of Cherubim Uplifted, in paternal glory rode" With l 752 cf VII 204

756 *beryl*, a kind of crystal Fr *briller*, whence *brilliant*, is a corruption of Lat *beryllus*=Gk *βήρυλλος* *careering*, darting, 'career' was a term associated with tournaments, and meant a short gallop at full speed, cf l 766, that seems to be the metaphor here From O F *charriere*=Ital *carriera*=Low Lat *carraria* i.e. *via*, qua carrus vehi potest (Ducange)

760, 761 *panoply*, "the whole armour (*πανοπλία*) of God," *Ephes* vi 11 Concerning the much discussed *Urim*, it seems to be agreed that they were certain material objects placed inside the breastplate of judgment which formed part of the high priest's ephod (*Exod* xxviii 30), and that they were a means by which, through him, the will of Jehovah was ascertained. It has been variously suggested that these objects were (i) diamonds and other precious stones, (ii) metal slips marked with affirmative and negative answers, (iii) small images like the 'teraphim'. Apparently M takes the first view, so that the general sense is—'armed in celestial equipment wrought of precious stones'—cf l 364, and the passage from the *Apol for Smect*, quoted at l 831, note ("arming in complete diamond"). The word *Urim* is said to mean 'light'—whence the view that the *Urim* were of Egyptian origin, and connected with the symbol of light worn by members of the priestly caste in Egypt, or 'revelation'—cf the rendering of it in the Septuagint, ἡ δῆλωσις, and in the Vulgate, *doctrina*. In *Church Gov* M speaks of "the oracle of urim" and "the judgment of urim," *P W* III 455

762, 763 Cf the personification of Victory in *Rich III* v 3 79, "Fortune and Victory sit on thy helm" (i.e. helmet). So 'Expectation' was personified, 306

766 *bickering*, quivering, flashing, see G

767—70 *Jude* 14, *Ps* lxxviii 17, *Rev* v 11, vii 4

771 "And he rode upon a cherub," 2 *Sam* xxii 11, *Ps* xviii 10 *Cherub*, see G. M generally uses 'sublime' = Lat *sublimis* in its lit sense, 'uplifted,' cf II 528, "in the air sublime"

772, 773 M always scans *crystalline*, cf VII 271, *S A* 546, "Allure thee from the cool crystalline stream" *illustrious*, conspicuous

776 "Then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven" *Mat* xxiv 30

777 *reduced*, brought back—Lat. *reduxit*, cf x 438

779 *their Head*, i.e. the Messiah, see v 606

785. *obdured*, hardened, obstinate, cf II 568

787 *insensate*, senseless, once elsewhere in M—cf *S A* 1685 Thomson speaks of "the insensate trade of war," *Winter*, 844

788 Vergil's *tantane animus caelestibus iræ*, *Æn* I 11 Cf *Rape of the Lock*, 12, "in soft bosoms dwells such mighty rage?" So IX. 729, 730

797 *last*, at last, an obvious suggestion is *lost*

801 *Exod* xiv. 13

808 "Vengeance is mine saith the Lord," *Rom* vii 19, also *Deut* xxxii 35

827 *the Four*, the Cherubim, cf 753 *et seq*

831—841 This description recalls III 392—6

"thou [Messiah] that day

Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare

Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels that shook

Heaven's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks

Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarrayed,"

and *Apol for Smeat* "then Zeal, arming in complete diamond [cf 364, 760], ascends his fiery chariot, drawn with two blazing meteors, figured like beasts, resembling two of those four which Ezekiel and St John saw with these the invincible warrior, Zeal, shaking loosely the slack reins, drives over the heads of scarlet prelates, bruising their stiff necks under his flaming wheels," *P W* III 129

833, 834 Cf 711, 712 In I 105 Satan boasts that the battle did shake the throne Thyer compares Hesiod, *Theog* 841

838 *astomshed*, thunder struck, stupefied, see G

842, 843 "[They] said to the mountains and rocks, Fall on us, and hide us from the wrath of the Lamb," *Rev* vi 16 The irony of the lines, in view of II 639—666, is obvious.

862 *the deep*, i.e. Chaos, "through which the angels in their fall would pass See *Appendix*

864—6 Cf I 44—9, 169—77, *P R* I 90, 360, 361 The "bottomless pit" is the lowest region of Hell—that "fiery gulf" on which the angels are depicted as tossing in I 52 In the *Doct of Div M* calls it the "uttermost and bottomless gulf of chaos"

868 *running*, falling M uses the noun 'ruin' in the lit sense of Lat *ruina*, a headlong, precipitate fall Thus in I 46 it is sud of the fall of the angels from Heaven—in *S A* 1515 of the fall of a building Bentley's elegant change was—"tumbling down"

869, 870 Repeated from *Nat Ode*, 123, "And cast the dark foundations deep" (of the world) Cf *posita late fundamina Mundi* in Milton's lines *Ad Patrem*, 47 *her*, of Hell

871 *nine*, traditionally a significant number In I 50 the rebels lie on the burning lake "Nine times the space that measures day and night" The fall of the Titans lasts the same time (Hesiod, *Theog* 722)

873 i.e. through his wild, disordered realm, cf v 283 In II 993—6 Chaos, speaking of the expulsion of the angels, says to Satan

"I saw and heard, for such a numerous host
 Fleed not in silence through the frightened deep,
 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
 Confusion worse confounded "

877 Cf II 823, "this dark and dismal house of pain," i.e. Hell
 Fairfax, IV. 59 calls it "the house of grief and pain" (Newton)

879 *returning*, qualifies 'Heaven'

880—92 *Rev* XII 10, 11; 1 *Tim* III 16, *Heb* I 3 Cf III
 397—9

885 The grave of Samson Agonistes (*S A* 1735) is shaded with
 "branching palm," a symbol of victory Cf Crashaw's picture of the
 'Assembly of the Saints'—"The palm blooms in each hand, the garland
 on each brow" See *Rev* VII 9

886 *sing triumph* M is thinking perhaps of the Lat. *Io*
triumphe, the cry raised by the crowd and soldiers when a Roman
 general celebrated his triumph Cf Horace, *Odes* IV 2 49, 50,
Epodes 9 21

893 Cf V 571—6

900 *he who*, *him* would have been more regular

900—6 These lines give the two main motives of Satan's resolve
 to ruin mankind (1) envy, (2) desire to spite God by marring his
 creatures—man shall be ruined that Satan may be revenged on the
 Most High for his defeat (*P L* IV 11, 12) See *Appendix*

907 Cf *P R* I 397, 398, Satan is the speaker

"Envy, they say, excites me, thus to gain

Companions of my misery and woe "

It is the sentiment expressed in the proverbial line (of unknown origin),
solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris (or *malorum*) So Shak *Lucrece*,
 790, "fellowship in woe doth woe assuage," and *Romeo* III 2 116, "if
 sour woe delights in fellowship" When Faustus asks why Lucifer
 tempts mortals Mephistophiles in reply quotes the line *solamen miseris*
 etc., *Faustus* V 42—where Dr Ward in his note cites Seneca *de*
Consolatione XII 2 *est autem hoc ipsum solati loco, inter multos*
dolorem suum dividere

909 *thy weaker*, Eve, "the weaker vessel," 1 *Pet* III 7

APPENDIX

A.

THE COSMOLOGY OF *PARADISE LOST*

Parts of *Paradise Lost* are not easily understood without some knowledge of Milton's conception of the Universe. I shall attempt therefore to set forth some of the main aspects of his cosmology to explain, in fact, what he means by constantly recurrent terms such as 'Empyrean,' 'Chaos,' 'Spheres,' and the like.

It is in Book v that he carries us back farthest in respect of time. The events described by Raphael (from line 563, onwards) precede not only the Creation of the World, but also the expulsion of the rebels from Heaven. And at this era, when the seeds of discord are being sown, we hear of two divisions of Space—Heaven and Chaos (v 577, 578) Heaven lying above Chaos.

In Book vi the contest foreshadowed in Book v has begun. Now a third region is mentioned—Hell (vi 53—55) a gloomy region carved out of the nethermost depths of Chaos. Its remoteness from Heaven may be inferred from i 73, 74. Milton's working hypothesis, then—his general conception of space and its partitionment prior to the Creation—may be expressed roughly thus above¹, Heaven, beneath, Hell, between, a great gulf, Chaos.

Let us see what he has to say concerning each

Heaven, or the Empyrean², is the abode of the Deity and his angelic subjects. It is a vast region, but not infinite. In x. 380 Milton speaks of its "empyrean bounds," in ii 1049 of its "battlements³," in vi 860 of its "crystal wall."

¹ i.e. from the point of view of this World, the position of which we shall see.

² The terms are synonymous. *Empyrean*=Lat. *empyræus*, from Gk *ἐμυρος*. The notion was that the Empyrean was formed of the element of fire (πῦρ).

³ Cf. Lucretius *flammanitia mania mundi* (i 74) and Gray's 'flaming bounds of Space' (*Progress of Poesy*).

These since Heaven in from Chaos. When Satan voyages through space, in quest of the new-created World, he lens far off the crystal line of light that radiates from the empyreal bulwarks, marking where runs the severance betwixt Heaven and Chaos (II 1034 *et seq.*) In the wall of Heaven are the "everlasting doors" opening on to Chaos (V. 223—226, VII 205—209). The shape of Heaven Milton does not determine (II 1048), perhaps it is a square (X 381). Its internal configuration and appearance he describes in language which reminds us of some lines (574—576) in Book V. May not the Earth, says Raphael be a symbol and *synecdoche* of Heaven?

"What if Earth

Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein

Lack to other like, more than on Earth is thought!"

Milton expands this idea, and developing to the utmost the symbolical, objective pre-entiment of the New Jerusalem in the *Revelation*, depicts a Heaven scarce distinguishable from an ideal Earth¹. In fact, his Heaven and his Garden of Eden have much in common, so that Satan exclaims, "O Earth, how like to Heaven!" (IX 99). Thus the Heavenly landscape (if I may describe it in Miltonic language) has its vale, wood covered heights and plains (VI 70, 640—646); it is watered by living streams (I 652), and fair with trees and flowers—immortal amaranth and celestial roses (III 353—364), and vines (I 635). Daylight and grateful twilight are known there (V 627—629, 645, VI 2—15). And soft winds fan the angelic beings as they sleep (I 654, 655).

These angelic beings, divided, according to medieval tradition², into nine orders, each with its particular duty, perform their ministries and solemn rites (VII 149) in the courts of God (V 620) and at the high temple of Heaven (VII 148). Their worship is offered under forms which recall, now the ritual of the Temple services of Israel, now the apocalyptic visions of St John. They celebrate the Deity who dwells invisible, throned inaccessible (III 377) on the holy mount (VI 5), howbeit omnipresent, as omnipotent, throughout Heaven and all space round whose throne there rests a radiance of excessive brightness, at which even Seraphim, highest of Hierarchies, veil their eyes (III 375—382).

It has been objected that Milton's picture is too material. The

¹ We must remember that he makes the Earth change and deteriorate after the fall of man (X 651 *et seq.*)

² See I 587, note

criticism belongs to the class of objections which are inevitably made because so obvious and so safe. No one can demonstrate them to be wrong: it is a matter of individual taste. Milton himself is quite prepared for the cavil, and takes special pains to remind us that the external imagery under which he represents his concepts is symbolical, not literal—adopted merely as a means of conveying *some* impression of that which is intrinsically indescribable. His style too, being almost ever on a level with his subject, and rising in splendour as he essays the ineffable, prevents us from feeling that he has materialised the theme. By mastery of language and elevation of manner he creates a kind of illusion in which we forget to criticise.

The second region, for which Chaos¹ seems the simplest title, is also variously called "the wasteful deep" (II 961, VI 862), "the utter deep" (VI 716), and "the abyss" (I 21, VII 211, 234). Here rules the god of Chaos and his consort Night (II 959—963). According to the long description in Book II 890 *et seq.*, this region is an illimitable ocean, composed of the embryon atoms whereof all substances may be formed—whereof Hell and the World are afterwards formed. It is a vast agglomeration of matter in its primal state (II 912, 913).

"neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,

But all these in their pregnant causes mixed."

Here prevails eternal anarchy of storm and wind and wave and stunning sounds. In VII 210—214 the Messiah and his host stand at the open gate of Heaven and look forth on to Chaos, and what they behold is a

"vast abyss

Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,

Up from the bottom turned by furious winds

And surging waves, as mountains "

The creation of Hell, we may perhaps assume, just precedes² the fall of the angels. It has been prepared for their punishment when, after the proclamation in V 600—613, they have revealed their rebellious spirit. To form Hell a part of the abyss

¹ Milton usually applies the title "Chaos" not to the region but to its ruler, for the region itself "the deep" is perhaps the commonest name.

² In the English *Faust-book* (1592) Faustus asks when Hell was made, and Mephistophiles replies—"Faustus, thou shalt know, that before the fall of my lord Lucifer there was no hell, but even then was hell ordained." (Thoms *English Prose Romances*, ed. 1858, III 185)

has been taken In II 1002 Chaos complains that his realm has been encroached upon by Hell—"stretching far and wide beneath" Round it runs a wall of fire (I 61), overhead spreads a fiery vault or cope (I 298, 345) At the descent of the angels Hell lies open to receive them (VI 53—55), then the roof closes (VI 875), and they are prisoners Henceforth the only outlet from Hell into Chaos is through certain gates, the charge whereof is assigned to Sin (II 643 *et seq*) At her side, as protector, stands Death, ready with his dart to meet all comers (II 853—855) To please Satan (her sire), Sin opens the gates Afterwards she cannot shut them, and all who will may pass to and fro between Hell and Chaos Later on (when the bridge from Hell has been made) this change becomes terribly significant For the inside of Hell, we hear of a pool of fire (I 52, 221), dry land that burns like fire (I 227—229), and drear regions of excessive cold and heat, intersected by rivers (II 575 *et seq*)

Immediately after the expulsion of Satan the World is created (VII 131 *et seq*) By "the World" is meant the whole *Description of the World* Universe of Earth, seas, stellar bodies and the framework wherein they are set—in short, all that the eye of man beholds The Son of God goes forth into the abyss (VII 218 *et seq*), and with golden compass marks out the limits of this World, so that Chaos is again despoiled of part of his realm (as he laments in II 1001—1006) The new World is a globe¹ or hollow *Hung in Chaos* sphere, suspended in the abyss, and at its topmost point fastened by a golden chain² to Heaven In II 1004—1006 Chaos tells Satan of this Universe

"another world,

Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain

To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell"

The length of this chain, i.e. the distance of the World from the Empyrean, is not stated (so far as I remember), but two passages imply that the distance was not—comparatively—very great (II 1051—1053, VII 618)

Also, between the globe (again, on its upper side, i.e. that nearest to the Empyrean) and the gate of Heaven there stretches a golden stair,

¹ i.e. something like the globe of a lamp, in what follows 'World' and 'globe' are used as interchangeable.

² Milton has adapted the idea from Homer Cf Chapman, *Shadow of Night* "The golden chain of Homer's high device" also Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* III 2, Jonson's *Masque of Hymen* (with his interesting note), Pope, *Essay on Man* I 33, 34

used by good angels for descent and ascent when they are dispatched to Earth on any duty such as that which Raphael discharges in Books v.—viii. This stair (suggested by Jacob's dream?) is not always let down (iii 701—518)

And hard by the point where the golden stair touches the surface of the globe there is—in later times, after the fall of man—another stair (or rather bridge), which leads, not upward to the Empire, but downward to Hell i.e. it extends over the portion of Chaos that intervenes between Hell and the World (ii 1024—1033, v 282 *et seq.*) This bridge¹, the work of Sin and Death, is used by evil angels when they would come from Hell (its gates being open) to Earth—"to tempt or punish mortals" (ii 1034).

Hence a good angel and an evil, visiting mankind simultaneously, the one descending the golden stair, the other ascending the bridge, will meet at this point of the surface of the globe. And to enter the globe, i.e. to get through its outer surface to the inside, each must pass through the same aperture in the surface, and descend by the same passage into the interior as Milton explains in Book iii. There he describes how Satan journeys through Chaos, till he reaches and walks² on the outer surface of the World (iii 418—430). But how to pass to the interior? The surface is impenetrable, and there seems to be no inlet. Then suddenly the reflection of the golden stair which chances to be let down directs his steps to the point where the stair and the bridge come into contact with the globe, and here he finds what he seeks—an aperture in the surface by which he can look down into the interior. Further, there is at this aperture a broad passage plunging right down into the World—being, really, a continuation of the golden stair. Thus Satan, standing on the bottom step of the stair, and looking straight up, sees over his

*The entrance
into hell erid*

¹ This too it would seem, is not an original idea. In the *Faust* book "Mephistopheles" says: "We have also with us in hell a ladder reaching of exceeding height, as though the top of the same would touch the heaven to which the damned ascend to seek the blessing of God but through their infidelity when they are at very highest degree, they fall down again into their former miseries" (II or v. iii p. 105). I give the last part of this extract as being, in my opinion, an interesting parallel to the account in iii 484 *et seq.* of the foolish folk being blown from Heaven's gate into their appointed limbo. I cannot find that any editor of *Faust* has raised the question whether Milton owed anything to the *Faust* book. It seems to me highly probable that he had studied the book (which was immensely popular) as well as Marlowe's dramatic adaptation of it. The description for example of Hell, with its alternations of cold and heat (*Faust* book, chaps. xv. and xx.), closely resembles P. I. ii 587 *et seq.*

² i.e. as a fly might alight on a lamp-globe and move upward to the orifice at the top through which the funnel passes (Milton)

the gate of Heaven, and looking straight down, sees the interior of the globe, leagues beneath (III 526 *et seq*)

Similarly on the seventh day of the Creation the angels, gazing from Heaven's gate down the stair and down the broad passage which continues the stair, see, as Satan did, into the new-made World (VII 617—619)

“not far, founded in view

On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea¹”

In short, at the point in the surface of the globe nearest to the Empyrean, there is a choice of ways the stair leading to Heaven, the bridge to Hell, and the broad passage to the interior of the World

“in little space

The confines met of empyrean Heaven,

And of this World, and, on the left hand, Hell

With long reach interposed, three several ways,

In sight, to each of these three places led²”

And descending the broad passage what would an angel find in the interior of the globe? What is this globe as Milton, following the astronomy of his³ time, has described it?

The globe as then conceived may best be likened (in Plato's comparison⁴) to one of those puzzles or boxes in which are contained a number of boxes of gradually lessening size remove the first, and you shall find another inside, rather smaller remove the second, and you shall come on a third, still smaller and so on, till you reach the centre—the kernel, as it were, round which the different boxes were but successive shells Now, of the globe of the World the Earth (they said) is the kernel (is it not often called “the centre⁶”?), and—a stationary body itself—it is encased by numerous shells or Spheres the number of the Spheres being a subject of dispute and varying in the different astronomical systems Milton, accepting⁶ for the purposes of his epic the Ptolemaic

*The globe of
the World its
interior*

*Milton's
astronomy*

¹ i.e. the Crystalline Sphere

² *℥*. 320—324

³ I do not mean to imply that the Ptolemaic system was still generally believed in at the time when *P. L.* was published, but that it satisfied Elizabethan writers of whom Milton was the last

⁴ See the Myth of Er in the *Republic* 616, 617, and the note on *Arcades* 64 (Pitt Press ed. p. 59), where the passage is translated

⁵ Cf. perhaps i. 686; and certainly the *Winter's Tale* II. i. 102, *Troilus* I. 3. 85

⁶ He was evidently familiar with the Copernican system (cf. IV 592—597, VIII 15—178) and the question has been asked why he did not follow it in the poem. The answer surely is obvious. The Copernican theory was new, without a scrap of

system as expanded by the astronomer Alphonsus X of Castille, recognizes ten Spheres. A Sphere, it should be noted, is merely a circular region of space—not necessarily of solid matter. Indeed, of the ten Spheres only one, the Primum Mobile, appears in Milton's description to consist of some material substance. Seven of them are the Spheres of the planets, i.e. the orbits in which the planets severally move.

The order of the Spheres, which fit one within the other¹, is, if we start from the Earth as the stationary centre² of the Universe, as follows: first, the Spheres of the planets successively—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, then, outside the last of these (i.e. Saturn), the Firmament or Cælum Stellatum, in which are set the "fixed stars," then, outside the Firmament, the Crystalline Sphere, and last, the Primum Mobile enclosing all the others. Compare the famous lines (481—483) in Book III describing the passage of the souls of the departed from Earth to Heaven:

"They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that Crystalline Sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that First Moved."

It remains to note three or four points in these lines. Milton treats the Sun and Moon as planets (v. 177, x. 651—658). Compare Shakespeare, *Troilus*, i. 3. 89, "the glorious planet Sol," and *Antony*, v. 2. 241, "the fleeting Moon no planet is of mine." The "fixed stars" are referred to four times in the poem—but only once (v. 176) with the word "star" added. In the other places (iii. 481, v. 621, x. 661) they are called simply "the fixed." Though they are unmoved their Sphere revolves round the Earth, moving from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty four hours, and carrying with it the seven inner Spheres³. The rapid motion of this Sphere is glanced at in v. 176 ("their orb⁴ that flies"). The Crystalline Sphere and the Primum

literary association and with no poetic terminology, whereas the Ptolemaic view and its delightful fictions as to the Spheres, their harmonies, and the like, had become a tradition of literature, expressed in terms that recalled Marlowe and Shakespeare and Jonson and the *sacri vates* of English verse. To have surrendered this poetic heritage merely out of deference to science had been impossible pedantry—a perverse concession to the cold philosophy that "empties the haunted air and unweaves the rainbow" (*Lamia*).

¹ Cf. Marlowe's *Faustus* vi. 38, 39.

"As are the elements, such are the spheres,
Mutually folded in each other's orb."

² Cf. viii. 32 "the sedentary Earth," and see iv. 107—109.

³ These have separate motions of their own, variously accounted for (viii. 82—84).

⁴ 'Orb' and 'Sphere' are interchangeable terms—when it suits Milton.

Mobile were not included in the original Ptolemaic system. They were added later, to explain certain phenomena which the earlier astronomers had not observed, and for which their theories offered no explanation. Thus the supposed swaying or "trepidation" of the Crystalline Sphere was held to be the cause of the precession of the equinoxes. This Sphere is described as a vast expanse of waters—restrained by what bounds we are not told. It encircles the eight inner Spheres. The original notion may perhaps be traced to the waters "above the firmament" in *Gen* 1:7. Compare the picture in *VII*. 270—271 of the World.

"Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Crystalline ocean"

The main purpose that this "ocean" serves is to protect the Earth from the evil "influences" of Chaos—those "fierce extremes" of temperature which might penetrate through the outside shell (the Primum Mobile) and "distemper" the whole fabric of the Universe, did not this wall of waters interpose (*VII* 271—273).

Last comes the Primum Mobile, "the first¹ convex" of the World, i.e. the outside case of our box or puzzle. It is made, as we saw, of hard matter, but for its crust of substance Chaos would break in on the World, and Darkness make inroads (*III* 419—421). The first moved itself, it communicates motion to the nine inner Spheres. In Elizabethan literature allusions to it are not infrequent—we will conclude by giving three. Compare Spenser, *Hymn of Heavenly Beautie*

"these heavens still by degrees arise,
Until they come to their first Movers bound,
That in his mightie compasse doth comprize,
And carry all the rest with him around,"

and Marlowe, *Faustus*²

"He views the clouds, and planets, and the stars,
The tropic zones, and quarters of the sky,
From the bright circle of the horned moon
Even to the height of Primum Mobile,"

and Bacon, *Of Seditious and Troubles* "for the motions of the greatest

¹ *III* 419. To Satan coming from Chaos it is the first, in our calculation, as we started from the Earth, it is the last.

² Scene vi *chor* II 5—18, in the third Quarto, 1616—the passage, which is a description of Faustus' flight through space, is not in the two earlier editions of 1604 and 1609 (Ward, p. 172).

persons in a government ought to be as the motions of the planets under Primum Mobile "

B

ON THE CHARACTER OF MILTON'S SATAN

I have reserved for this *Appendix* notice of some points in Milton's delineation of the character of Satan. First, as to the rank which Milton assigns to him before his revolt, and the cause of that revolt. Milton speaks of Satan as an archangel¹—*Satan's rank in Heaven* "if not the first archangel" (v. 660) that is, he is inclined to give Satan preeminence over all angelic beings. But this preeminence is not emphasised so much as we might have expected.

The immediate cause of the rebellion in Heaven is the proclamation that all should worship the Messiah as their Head (v. 600—615). Satan resents the command, conceiving himself "imprudent" (v. 665) thereby, and he makes its pretended injustice a means of drawing away a third part of the angels from their allegiance. They are equal, he says, to the Messiah self begotten, not created, not liable to pay worship, and so, playing on their pride, he wins them to his side (v. 772—802, 853—866). Meantime, in his own heart an even stronger motive is at work, to wit, ambition to be himself equal to the Deity—nay, superior. He not only disclaims submission to the Son, he strives "against the throne and monarchy" (l. 42) of the Almighty himself, and it is as the foe rather of the Father than of the Son that the great archangel is set before us in *Paradise Lost*.

Touching both matters there was much tradition, whereof it may be interesting to cite two or three illustrations from popular works² with which Milton is likely to have been familiar. To take, for example, the English *Faust-book*. Faustus asks "But how came lord and master Lucifer³ to have so great a fall from Heaven? Mephistophiles answered, My lord Lucifer

¹ Contrast the first extract from the *Faust book* later on.

² I choose three works each of which may, I think, be regarded as a *résumé* of many of the current traditions of demonology. Two of the books—the *Faust book*, 1592 and Scot's *Discourse* 1584—were extremely popular, and personally I believe that Milton had studied both. Scot devotes several chapters to "Lucifer and his fall." The third work—Heywood's *Hierarchy*, 1635—is very serviceable to an editor of *Paradise Lost*.

³ Milton identifies Lucifer and Satan.

was a fair angel, created of God as immortal, and being placed in the Seraphims¹, which are above the Cherubims, he would have presumed upon the Throne of God upon this presumption the Lord cast him down headlong, and where (i.e. whereas) before he was an angel of light, now dwells in darkness² " Later on Faustus returns to the subject, enquiring "in what estimation his lord Lucifer was, when he was in favour with God " also touching his form and shape to which Mephistophiles replies, "My lord Lucifer was at the first an angel of God, yea he was so of God ordained for shape, pomp, authority, worthiness, and dwelling, that he far exceeded all the other creatures of God, and so illuminated that he far surpassed the brightness of the sun, and all the stars but when he began to be high minded, proud and so presumptuous, that he would usurp the seat of God's Majesty, then was he banished³ "

The *Faust* text, it will be seen, agrees with Milton on both points, while, as regards one of them—Satan's rank—it is more explicit than *Paradise Lost*. Equally explicit is Heywood's *Hierarchy in Heywood's of the Blessed Angels* (1638). There (p. 336) we read "*Hierarchy*," that of the angels Lucifer was first created and chief

"As he might challenge a priority
In his Creation, so above the rest
A supereminence, as first and best "

Heywood mentions Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel, and adds (p. 337) that great as they were,

"Yet above these was Lucifer instated,
Honored, exalted, and much celebrated "

Reginald Scot goes even further, remarking⁴ that according to the teaching of some divines Satan even after his fall exceeded in power any of the angelic host. It seems to me ^{in Scot's} "*Discourse*" therefore something strange that Milton did not unequivocally invest Satan with superiority over all the angels.

As to Satan's motive Heywood⁵ differs from Milton, making jealousy of mankind the cause, while Scot writes⁶ "Our schoolemen differ much in the cause of *Lucifer's* fall [some alleging one thing, some another, while] others say, that his condemnation grew hereupon, for that he

¹ The highest of the Hierarchies, see v. 587. We may note the forms 'Seraphims,' 'Cherubims,' see G. under 'Cherubim.'

² Thomas *English Prose Romances*, 2nd ed., III. 184.

³ Thomas, III. 187.

⁴ Nicholson's ed. p. 425.

⁵ p. 339.

⁶ p. 423.

challenged the place of the Messias " This accords more with *Paradise Lost* v 661—665

For Milton Satan is the type of pride The type was already fixed
Satan a type of As an epithet of Lucifer 'proud' had passed into a
pride in ear proverb Thus Gower said¹
lier writers,

"For Lucifer with him that felle
 Bar pride with him into helle
 There was pride of to grete cost
 Whan he for pride hath heaven lost,"

and Marlowe²

"*Faust* How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?
Meph O, by aspiring pride and insolence,
 For which God threw him from the face of heaven,"

and Greene³

"proud Lucifer fell from the heavens,

Lucifer and his proud hearted friends
 Were thrown into the centre of the earth."

Milton therefore did not wholly conceive or create the character of
in Milton the arch rebel Tradition, literary no less than theological,
 prescribed the dominant idea in that nature
 enough if Milton developed the idea in harmony with the design of his
 poem This he did. He depicts Satan as an embodiment of the spirit
 of pride and ambition⁴ not the ambition which is an honourable
 desire of praise—that last infirmity of noble minds—but the fevered lust
 for power which springs from overmastering self esteem In Satan
 this spirit of egotism is the poison that permeates his whole being,
 vanquishing and vitiating all that is good in him

For at the outset of the action of *Paradise Lost* Satan has much that
 is noble and attractive in his nature To have made him
Complexity of wholly evil had repelled, and lessened the interest of the
Satan's cha poem, which turns, in no slight degree, on the struggle
racter between the good and evil elements in him Indeed,
 this very pride is not without its good aspect Herein lies the motive
 power that nerves him at every crisis to face insuperable difficulties, to
 cherish immortal hope—though hope of revenge, and to adventure
 "high attempts "

¹ *Confessio Amantis*, bk. 1

² *Faustus* III 67—69

³ *Fraser Bacon* IX, 59, 65 66

⁴ Cf Satan's own words in IV 40

On the other hand, it is this same spirit that drives him onward to his final fall. If at any moment he is minded to repent and submit—through pity for the friends whom he has ruined, or mankind whom he schemes to ruin, or himself—through sense of his ingratitude (iv 42—45) towards the Almighty—whatever the motive—relentless, resistless egotism sweeps aside compunction, and denies him retreat. To sue for grace were to humble himself in the eyes of his followers and in his own which must not be (iv 79—83)

*His pride bars
repentance*

Sterdily does Milton keep this idea before us. There is no possibility of missing or mistaking his intention. The very word 'pride' recurs¹ like some persistent refrain, ringing clearest at the great crises, the fateful moments when the action of the epic enters on a fresh stage—as when in the fourth Book (ll 27 *et seq*) Satan looks down upon Eden from his resting place on mount Niphates, and a brief while is inclined to give up his attempt and seek re-admission into Heaven, or as when in the ninth Book (ll 455—472) he sees Eve in the Garden and is touched by her beauty and innocence, and disarmed of his ill thoughts. Always, however, the end is the same—"the hot hell" of pride in his heart breaks anew into flame, and he goes forward to his work.² Had not pride led him to undertake it?

*The point em-
phasised by
Milton*

Satan's resolve to compass the fall of man is prompted by several feelings—each a phase of self-esteem. There is jealousy. Man has usurped his place—dispossessed him and his followers. At sight of Adam and Eve he exclaims (iv 359—360)

*Satan's mo-
tives for tempt-
ing mankind*

"Into our room of bliss thus high advanced

Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps!"

The same feeling finds expression in almost the same words later on (ix. 148, 149). That others should receive favour from the Almighty—and, as he thinks, at his expense—wounds his pride.

Again, there is desire to assert his supremacy by undertaking an office from which the mightiest of his followers recoil in fear. Nowhere does Satan stand forth so eminent and sublime "with monarchical pride" as in the scene in the second Book where he proffers himself for the great enterprise. The counsel of Beelzebub has been applauded by all (ll 386—389) but who will carry it out? None dare and then

¹ Cf i 36, 58 527, 572, 603—with many other examples.

² Cf Mr Stopford Brookes's admirable *Study of Milton*, p 148

Satan, proclaiming his readiness, once more confirms his sovereignty
Here too pride has ruled

But the strongest motive remains desire

"To wreak on innocent frail man his loss

Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell¹"

"To spite the great Creator" (II 385) he will bring ruin on the earth and its inhabitants which, if not victory, were revenge. The notion flatters his self conceit. It is born of the old pride. And Milton dwells on it with fitting insistence²

Is Satan the 'hero' of *Paradise Lost*? We might think so did we not read beyond the first books. But to trace his history

*Satan not the
'hero' of the
poem*

in the poem to its inglorious close is to dispel the impression Milton can scarcely intend that we should regard as 'hero'—as worthy of sustained admiration—one

who passes from the splendour of archangelic being to the state of a loathsome reptile³. The hideous metamorphosis in \ 504—532 is the necessary contrast to those scenes at the beginning of the epic in which the great rebel does appear in heroic grandeur and we must look on both pictures. If *Paradise Lost* narrates the fall of man, it narrates

too—and no less clearly—the fall of man's tempter. The self degradation of Satan is complete outward and inward of the form and of the spirit a change—ever for the worse—of shape and mind and emotion

*His self-de-
basement and
decline*

There is the outward sign. Before his expulsion he is preeminently a lustrous being, clothed with ethereal radiance and glory

in form,

—so much does his name "Lucifer" argue⁴. And afterwards he retains something of this "original brightness" (I 592) howbeit much has passed from him (I 97, 591—594). But gradually what was left decreases in proportion as the evil in him prevails so that Uriel perceives the foul passions that dim his face (IV 124—130), while Gabriel marks his "faded splendour wan" (IV 870), and the Cherub Zephon taunts him therewith (IV 835—840). Equal is his loss of physical force. On the fields of Heaven he does not fear to meet Michael in combat (VI 246 *et seq.*) in the Garden of Eden he doubts himself a match for Adam

*in physical
power,*

"Foe not formidable" exempt from wound,

¹ II, 11, 12

² Cf. VI 905—906

³ Cf. his words in IX 163—171

⁴ Cf. VII 131—133, and the second extract from the *Faust*-book, and Marlowe, "beautiful As was bright Lucifer before his fall (*Faustus* \ 155)

I not, so much hath Hell debased, and pain¹
 Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven "

In fact, he is glad that he has to deal with the woman—not the man (ix 480—488)

Nor this because of lost strength alone. He shuns the "higher intellectual" of Adam (ix 483) who would be better able than Eve to see through his arguments and so resist temptation. He is conscious of his own decline in intellect. The strong *in intellect*, intelligence which inspires his speeches in the first two books has degenerated, by perverse use, into mere sophistical slyness, a base cunning—even as wine may lose its savour and turn to vinegar. He is no more the mighty-minded archangel: he is naught but the serpent—"subtlest beast of all the field." Lastly, every impulse in him towards good has died out. The element of *in moral in stinct* nobility that redeemed his character at the outset from absolute baseness has been killed. In evil he moves and has his being, so that himself confesses "all good to me becomes bane," and in destroying lies his sole delight (ix 118 *et seq.*).

Hardly therefore shall we believe that Milton meant us to see in the fallen and everfalling archangel the hero of *Paradise Lost*. It is an 'epic without a hero' or if there be one, Adam is he for in him suffering has wrought a purification that promises nobler things to come.

¹ See vi 327, note

GLOSSARY

address, VI 296, lit. 'to make strught,' from "O I' *adressier*, *adrecier*, Late Lat *addrectiare*, from Lat *directum*, straight" (Mayhew and Skeat) For the sense 'to make ready,' cf *Julius C* III 1 29, "he is address'd, press near," and 2 *Hen IV* IV 4 5, "our navy is address'd," and "address"=preparation, *S A* 731

adusted, VI 514, dried, the p p of the verb *adure*=Lat. *aduro*, cf *adust*, also a p p in same sense, XII 635 Richardson (*Dict*) quotes Bacon, *Nat Hist*, "A degree of heat, which doth mellow and not adure," and Burton, *Anatomy*, "the other, whether it arise from that other melancholy of choler adust is, if it come by adustion (i.e. drying up) of humours, most part hot and dry"

advise, V 523, 729, consider, often reflexive, like Fr *s'aviser*, cf the A V in 1 *Chron* XXI 12, "advise thyself," where the Revised V changes to "consider" So "advisement"=consideration "upon advisement sent him away," 1 *Chron* XII 19, i.e. after deliberation

alarm, VI 549, a call to arms, derived through Fr *alarme* from Ital *all' arme*, to arms! i.e. *ad illa arma* M here uses the word in its strict sense, meaning that the angels obeyed the summons "arm, warriors" (I 537) So in IV 985 "Satan, alarmed" means that he was ready for the fight—not that he was afraid Dryden has Milton's phrase, in same sense "Misenus sounds a charge we take th' alarm, And our strong hands with swords and bucklers arm," *Æn* III 313, 314 Cf *alarum* in Shrk "sound, sound alarum!" 1 *Hen VI* I 2 18

alchemist, V 440, *alchemy*=Arabic *alkīmīā* al=the (Arabic article), and *kīmīā* a corruption of *χημεία*, used in late Gk for the chemical transmutation of metals Probably *χημεία* was the Gk form of the native name of Egypt (= 'the land of *Khem* or *Khamē*'), and meant

'the Egyptian art' Later, through confusion with χέειν, to pour (cf χυμός, sap, juice) there arose a form χυμέλα whence in E. the old spellings alchymy, alchymie, and chymist (short for alchymist)

ambrosial, Gk ἄμβροτος, immortal, commonly used by M of that which delights the sense of taste or of smell for taste, cf v 427, for smell, vi 475 The noun means 'fragrance,' v 57 Properly ambrosia was the food of the gods

assay, vi 153, trial, attempt, M always writes *assay*, and in Spenser and Shak it is commoner than *essay* In modern E *assay* is only used of testing metals O F *assai* was a variant of *essai*=Lat. *exagium*, a weighing, trial of exact weight

astounded, vi 838 In ix 890 M uses *astoned*, the pp of the verb *astony* Now, *astonish* is an alteration (on the false analogy of words like *extinguish*?) of *astony*, and *astony* is itself a variant form of the earlier Middle E *astone*=O F *estonner*, Mod F *étonner*,=Lat *extondere*, to thunder All three verbs—*astone*, *astony*, *astonish*—meant to 'stupefy as with a thunderbolt' Cf the *Promptorium* (circa 1440), "astonyed *attonitus, consternatus, stupefactus, percussus*," Wyclif, *Isai* xix 16, "thei schulen be astonyed" (in Vulgate, *stupebunt*), *Isai* lxi 14 in the A V, where the true sense is 'stupefied,' 'appalled,' and Spenser, *F Q* iv 8 43, and *Shep Cal Juley*, "astoned with the stroke." In M *astounded* and *astoned* have this, their original, sense—"struck senseless," 'thunderstruck' Cf the *Argument* to bk i—"lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished," and i 266 In modern E *astonish* has weakened down to the sense 'surprise'

bickering, vi 766, used of glancing, darting light Cf Tennyson, *Geraint*, "turning round she saw Dust, and the point of lances bicker in it," and the *Princess*, v, "as the fiery Sirius bickers into red and emerald" Thomson, *Castle of Indolence*, i, speaks of "glittering streamlets" that "bickered through the sunny glade." Properly 'bicker' means to skirmish, cf Palsgrave (1530), "bicker, fyghtyng, *escar mouche*"

blows, v 22, blooms, flowers, cf *Lyc* 48, "the white thorn blows" Minshew, 1617, has, "To blow as a flower, or to open as a bud *bluhen, fleurir*" *Blow*, *bloom*, *blossom* are cognate, and akin to Lat *flos* and its derivatives, *flower*, *flourish*, etc

buxom, v 270, from A S. *bilgan*, to bend (cf Germ *beugsam*), originally 'yielding'='obedient' Cf the *Promptorium* (circa 1440), "buxum, *obediens*," and Palsgrave (1530), "boxome, obedient, *obeissant*"

So in Spenser, *F Q* III 2 23, *Shep Cal September* Thence the general sense 'yielding,' 'pliant;' cf Fairfax, *Tasso*, xv 12, "with strong oars brush the bottom wave."

champaign, vi 2, plain, cf *P R* III 257, used as adj in iv 134—cf *Lucrece*, 1247, "a goodly champaign plain" Minsheu's *Dict* (1617) has, "champion, or plume ground" See *Lear*, I 1 65, and the A V in *Deut* xi 30 O F. *champaigne*, Ital *campagna*, Lat. *campagna*—from *campus*

Cherubim, the correct form = Heb *Kherûbîm*, the plural of *Kherûbh* The oldest forms in English, as still in French, were *Cherubin*, sing, and *Cherubins*, plural Cf Coverdale, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isai* xxxvii 16, and Wyclif, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exod* xxv 18 Later, as in the Bible of 1611, *Cherub*, sing, and *Cherubims*, plural, were used, as being closer to Hebrew M kept *Cherub* (vi 771) and wrote the true plural *Cherubim* (adopted in the Revised V) *Kherûbh* is said to come from the Babylonian word for the figure of the winged bull which stood at the door of a house to keep off evil spirits The Jews probably owed it to the Phœnicians (Similar is the history of the plural of *Seraph* *Seraphims* in some old writers, *Seraphims* in the Bible, *Isai* vi 2, 6, *Seraphim* in M)

combustion, vi 225, conflagration (from Lat *comburere*, to burn up), i.e. metaphorically 'utter confusion,' cf "ruin and combustion" i 46, and *Macbeth*, II 3 63, "dire combustion and confused events" In M always a very strong word, cf *Of Reformation*, "to threaten uproar and combustion," *P IV* II 417, and *Apol for Smect*, "nothing but corruption, contention, combustion," III 162

concoct, v 412, Lat *concoquere*, to boil together, reduce by heat—especially, to reduce into a state of nourishment, i.e. digest Bacon (*Nat Hist*) says, "The word concoction, or digestion, is chiefly taken into use from living creatures and their organs" Cf M. in *On Education*, "The like also would not be inexpedient after meat, to assist nature in her first concoction," *P W* III 476

devoted, v 890, Lat *devotus*, 'set apart by a vow' (*votum*), especially 'set apart for destruction,' i.e. doomed He uses *devote* as a p.p. in same sense, cf III 208, "to destruction devote," and ix 901

discourse, v 488, power of reasoning, then a common meaning Shak twice uses "discourse of reason" = the reasoning faculty—*Hamlet*, I 2 150, *Troilus*, II 2 116, so "discourse of thought," *Othello*, IV 2 153 (Folio reading), and "discourse of the soul" in Jonson's *Hymenæi*

Cf too *Measure for Measure* 1.2.190, "she will play with reason and discourse" *discursive* (v 488), has the derived adjectival sense

enormous, v 297, out of all measure, rule—the lit sense of Lat *enormis* Cf *Of Reformation*, "misshapen and enormous prelatism," *P IV* 11 373 Blount, *Glossographia*, 1681, has, "Enormity, want of measure, or rule, unevenness, hugeness" In modern E the word has lost the notion of 'measure,' and simply means 'very large.'

gloss, v 435, from O F *glose*=Late Lat. *glossa*, Gk γλῶσσα, which signified, (i) the tongue, (ii) a language, (iii) a word, (iv) a word needing explanation, (v) an explanation But since many explanations are false, *gloss*, noun and verb, got the notion 'deceiving' (cf *glossing*, deceptive), and M in his prose works often uses it so

gonfalon, v 589, a "banner, or square standard born on the top of a lance" (Cotgrave, 1611) Earlier form *gonfanon*, cf *Romaunt of the Rose*, "I bare of loue the gonfenoun" O F *gonfanon*=Middle High Germ *gundfano*, battle flag, cf mod G *fahne*, a flag

grain, v 285, derived from O F *graine*, Lat *granum*, the Low Latin equivalent for the classical word *coccum* Properly *coccum* meant a 'berry,' but it was specially used of the cochineal insect found upon the scarlet oak in Spain and other Mediterranean countries, this insect being, from its shape, supposed to be a berry From the cochineal insect a certain dye was made, called *coccum*, whence *coccinus*= 'red' In Low Latin *granum* took the place of *coccum* Strictly, therefore, *grain* signified a scarlet dye such as could be extracted from this cochineal insect Cf Cotgrave "Graine the seed of herbs, also grain wherewith cloth is dyed in grain, scarlet die" But Cotgrave also has "Migraine Scarlet, or Purple in graine," and it seems as though the word had lost something of its original sense, and could be applied to shades of blue or purple Cf *VI* 242 and *Lyc* 142 (the first draft of the lines—see Pitt Press ed p 167) In *Cpm* 750 *grain* must bear its earlier notion, 'scarlet.'

griding, *VI* 329, cf *Shep Cal Feb*, "The kene cold blowes as I were through the body gryde" where the *Glosse* says, "*Gride*, perced (i e pierced) an olde word much used of Lidgate" Identical with *gird*, the metathesis of *r* is common, cf *thurd* for *thrid*

hosting, *VI* 93, encounter, Richardson (*Dict*) quotes Holinshed, *Conquest of Ireland*, "In all the services and hostings, the Welsh seruitors are verie valiant." Said commonly to have meant a muster of troops From Lat. *hostis*, enemy

influence, v 695, properly an astrological term for the power

exercised by celestial bodies upon men's characters and lives Cf. Bacon, "And the Astrologers, call the evill Influences of the Starrs, Evill Aspects" (*Of Envy*), again, "those, that conceive the Cestiall Bodies have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below" (*Of Vicissitude*) Edmund ridicules the idea in *Lear*, I 2 136 *et seq*

landskip, v 142, i.e. landscape, here and in the three other places where it occurs—II 491, IV 153, *L'Al.* 70—spelt *lantskip* The form in *-skip* is older than that in *-scape*, and should be retained in texts of M since it has never quite passed out of poetic use Cf Tennyson, *Romney's Remorse*, "blurr'd like a lundscip," and *Merlin*, "the landskip darkened" Writers of the 18th cent used it cf the *Spectator*, 94, "the other beholds a beautiful and spacious landskip, divided into delightful gardens, green meadows, fruitful herbs," and Dyer's *Grongar Hill* (1726), "draw the landskip bright and strong" It was a term borrowed from Dutch artists, cf Dutch *land schap*, and the forms used by Jonson and Goldsmith (both had been in Holland) the former writes *lantschap* (*Masque of Blackness*), the latter *landschape* (*Deserted V*) The suffix *skip* is identical with the noun *shape*, hence *land skip* (or *-scape*) means 'shape of the land' In many words the suffix is softened to *ship*, as in *friendship*, cf Germ *freundschaft*

madding, vi 210, raging, furious. Cf Phineas Fletcher, *Piscatorie Eccl* III 1, "While madding windes the madder Ocean shook," and Drummond (*Poems*, ed 1856, p 38), "Far from the madding worldlings' hoarse discords" (the obvious original of Gray's famous line, *Eleg*, 73) Elizabethan writers use a p p *madded*=maddened, it occurs in Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes*, 30 ("shakes the madded land")

meath, v 345, a sweet wine, especially one made with honey Cf Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Song 4, "Fill me a bowl of meath" Chaucer writes *meth*, cf the Welsh *metheglin* (a sweet beverage, mentioned in *Merry Wives*, v 5 167, *Love's L. L* v 2 233), from Welsh *medd-yglyn*, mead-liquor The common form is *mead*, cf Keats, *Ever of St Agnes*, l 349, "Drowned all in the sleepy mead" A S *meodu*, Germ *meth*, Gk *μέθυ*, Sanskrit *madhu*, honey, are cognate.

nice, v 433, fastidious, dainty, cf *P R* IV 157, "Nothing will please the difficult and nice" In Elizabethan E 'nice' often had this depreciatory sense—'too critical,' in O E it meant 'foolish,' coming from Lat *nescius*, through O F *nice* Chaucer has 'nycete,' folly

numerous, v 150, melodious, cf Phineas Fletcher, *Piscatorie Eclogues*, I 6, "ʔpt words to fitly binde In numerous verse," and *Purple Island*, I 24, "Sweet, numerous Muse, why should'st thou

droop?" So we find *numbers*=verse, Lat *numeri*—e.g. in Pope, "I hsp'd in numbers, for the numbers came"

orient, v. 2, vi 15 In Elizabethan poetry 'orient' was a 'perpetual' epithet of gems, especially pearls (cf IV 238) Perhaps, as used thus, it originally meant 'eastern,' gems coming from the Orient or Ea., then because these were bright it got the notion 'lustrous,' and 'lustrous' will suit every passage where M. uses it (though in v. 175 'rising'=Lat. *orient* may be meant) Cf "orient colours," I 546, "sparkling orient gems," III 507

orisons, v. 145, prayers, once elsev here in M—XI 137 Coigrave has, 'Orason On on, prayer' Cf *Romeo*, IV 3 3, *Hamlet*, III 1 89. From Lat *orationem*, through O F *orison*=mod F *oraison* There is, or was, a less common form in E., cf. Dyer's *Runn of Rome* (1740), "The Pilgrim oft mid his orison hears etc."

parillous, v. 653, cf. I *Ant* II 12, "he and the kings in the pavilous" where the margin says—"Or, tents" M. uses *parillous*=encamped, XI 215 From Fr *parillon* (=Lat *pasillus*) a tent, "so called because spread out like the wings of a butterfly" (Skeat), Pliny and later writers use *pasillus* to mean a tent

reluctant, vi 58, struggling against—the lit. sense of Lat *reluctari*, so 'reluctance' in II 337, v. 1045 Cf Blount's *Glossographia* (1691 ed.), "Reluctate (*relucter*), to contend, strive, struggle, or wrestle against" Now 'reluctant' is figurative—"unwilling, loth"

rinc, v. 342, a word much discussed, but, as it seems to me, quite simple It is an adj., with the termination of a p p, formed from a noun *rinc* Milton constantly coined words thus—a fact which it were needless to note, had it not been absurdly objected here that *rinc* must be wrong, because there was no verb 'to rinc' There is no verb 'to mitre,' or 'to helm,' or 'to sword,' but M. uses 'mitred' (*Lyc* 112), 'helmed' (vi 840), 'sworded' (*Nat Ode*, 113), and countless similar adjectives The objection scarce deserves comment As to the noun *rinc*, not *rind*, the *Shep Cal Feb* 111 is generally cited, but as the rhyme there requires that form, and as Spenser avowedly used archaic forms in the poem, the example is perhaps less to the point than the following which I have noticed in Sandys' *Relation*, 1627 ed "In the summer they lance the rinc [of the balsam tree] with a stone," p. 197, and again, "The hole of this shrub is of least esteeme, the rinc of greater," p. 198 These cases, in a popular prose work, surely prove that *rinc* was a current form Perhaps M. avoided *rinded*, as not euphonic, though I find it in Spenser, *Virgil's Gnat*, 209

sad, v 94, VI 541, serious, the original sense was 'sated,' A S. *sad* being akin to Lat *satis*, then came the notion 'serious, sober, grave' Cf *Apol for Smeat*, "to be severe and ever of a sad gravity," *P W* III 129, and *Hist of Brit*, "this story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration." Cf *Com* 189, *Il Pen* 43

secure, v 238, VI 541, without fear or care (Lat. *securus*), confident, especially over-confident, a frequent use in M and in Elizabethan E Cf Fletcher's quibble "To secure yourselves from these, Be not too secure in case," and *Rich II* v 3 43, "secure, fool hardy king!" Shak uses 'securely' = carelessly (cf VI 130), 'security' = carelessness (cf *Macbeth*, III 5 32, "security Is mortals' chiefest enemy")

Seraphim, the word is said to mean 'burning' Cf Blount's *Glossographia* (1681), "Seraphim, i.e. *fulgentes aut comburentes*, so called, for their burning with divine love and charity" M alludes to this in v 249 (note), 804—807, 875, cf *At a Solemn Musick*, "bright Seraphim, in burning row" So Drummond, *Flowers of Zion*, "here do Seraphim Burn with immortal love," Pope, *E on Man*, "the rapt Seraph that adores and burns," and Thomson, *Castle of In* II 48, "Seraphs burning round the Almighty's throne" Some scholars, however, derive 'Seraph' from a root 'to exalt' For the termination *im*, see *Cherubim*

sluice, v 133, floodgate, from O F *escluse* (mod F *déluse*), Low Lat *exclusa*, i.e. *exclusa aqua*, shut-off water Afterwards, *exclusa* meant the place where the water was shut off, viz the floodgate.

soveran, v 256, VI 56, spelt thus always in *P L*. Probably M was influenced by Ital form—*sovano*, *sovereign* comes through O I *soverain*, in each case Lat *superanus* is the original

spume, VI 479, foam, froth—Lat *spuma* Cf Thomson, *Summer*, "fiery spume Of fat bitumen" Giles Fletcher has an adj 'spumy'—cf *Christ's Vict on Earth*, 55, "Spumie Bacchus"

store, v 322, abundance, common in Elizabethan E One of Heywood's *Proverbs* runs, "store is no sore" Cf *L'Al* 121 From O F *estoir*, store, provisions, Low Lat *instaurum*, in Late Lat *instaurare* = to provide necessities

surcease, VI 258, cease, stop, cf *S A* 404, and Shak *Lucrece*, 1766, "If they surcease to be that should survive" Originally a *surcease*, O F *sursis* (for the noun, cf *Macbeth*, I 7 4), was the arrest or stoppage of a legal suit Derived from O F *surscour*, to pause =

Lat *supersedere*, to forbear, so that *surcease* is quite distinct from *cease*=Fr *cesser*, Lat *cessare*

tire, VI 605, the old form of *tier*, cf Spenser, *F Q* I 4. 35 It seems to have been specially used of a line of cannon, Skeat quotes Florio (1598), "a tyre of ordinance" From Fr *tirer*, to draw

tissue, V 592, "Cloth of silke and siluer, or of siluer and gold woven together" (Minsheu) Cf *Antony and C* II 2 204, "cloth of gold of tissue," and Dryden, *Æn* III 625, "A robe with flowers on golden tissue wrought" *Tissue* and *texture* come from Lat *texere*—the one straight from Lat, the other through Fr *tisser*

uncouth, V 98, VI 362, A S *uncuð*, unknown—from *un*, not, and *cuð*, the p p of *cunnan*, to know Minsheu has, "Uncouth is a Saxon word, signifying as much as much as *incognitus*, unknown" In M it almost always means 'strange, unfamiliar,' with the implied notion 'unpleasant,' cf II 407, 827

unobnoxious, VI 404, M always uses *obnoxious*= 'liable to'=Lat *obnoxius* Cf *Tenure of Kings*, "obnoxious to the doom of law," *P W* II 32, and *Church Gov*, "from that time his creature, and obnoxious to comply with his ends in state," II 461 So in IX 170, 1094, and *S A* 106 Cf Bacon, *Of Ambition*, "as for the having of them obnoxious to ruin, if they be of fearful natures, it may do well"

utter, V 614, VI 716=*outer* duplicate forms (and comparatives) from A S *ilt*, out *utter*=*outer* survived to Milton's time in at least one phrase, cf Blount (1681), "The outward or *utter Barristers* these always plead without the Bar" The example that occurred in the Bible of 1611 in *Ezek* X. 5 ("the utter court") has been changed to *outer* in modern eds

vouchsafe, V 312, VI 823, from Middle E *vouchen safe*, to warrant as safe, *vouchen*=Law Fr *voucher*, to call, Lat *vocare* The spelling *voutsafe* in the original eds of Milton may have been specially intended by him, from a desire to avoid the awkward sound *ch* before *s*, those who take this view rightly retain *voutsafe*

wont, V 123, VI 93, are wont, present tense, 3rd pers plur Cf *S A* 1487, "Sons wont to nurse their parents" The verb *won*, now used only in the p p *wonted* or *wont*, from A S *winian*, was then conjugated, and had two senses—(i) to be used to, (ii) to dwell For (i) cf *Com* 332, "fair moon, That wont'st to love," and *Nat Ode*, 10, "he wont to sit," i.e. was wont For (ii) cf *P L* VII 457, "he wons in forest wild," so often in Spenser, e.g. *F Q* III 5 27, "In those same woods a noble hunteresse did wonne."

wrack, VI 670, destruction, the usual form till late in the 17th century, cf *shipwracked* in *S A* 198. *wrack*, never *wreck*, is the spelling of noun and verb in the first Folio of Shak, cf places where the rhyme has prevented modernising, e.g. *Macbeth*, v 5 51, "Blow, wind I come, wrack! At least we'll die with harness on our back" We still use "to rack and ruin," where we mean *wrack*. From *A S wræcan*, to drive, the *wreck* or *wrack*, being that which is driven ashore.

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